SAMUEL WESLEY AND HIS VIOLIN: A BIOGRAPHY AND SCORE OF AN EARLY CONCERTO FROM THE 1779 AUTOGRAPH

by

Janelle Davis

Submitted to the faculty of the
Jacobs School of Music in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Music
Indiana University
May 2018

Accepted by the faculty of the
Indiana University Jacobs School of Music,
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Music

Doctoral Committee

_____
Stanley Ritchie, Research Director and Chair

_____
Wendy Gillespie

_____
Kristina Muxfeldt

_____
Richard Seraphinoff

April 2, 2018

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my Research Director, Stanley Ritchie, for his careful readings of this document, and his thoughtful insight. I would also like to express my appreciation to Janet Scott for her help discerning Samuel Wesley's, at times, messy, thirteen-year-old handwriting, to Sung Lee for his help with footnotes and formatting, and to my colleagues, Martie Perry, Sarah Cranor, Rachel Gries, Barbara Krumdieck, and Janet Scott, for their dedication and discussion preparing our first performance of the concerto transcribed at the end of this document. I am exceedingly grateful for the support of my family, and those friends I consider family. You have offered not only encouragement, but practical and logistical help along the way.

Table of Contents

List of Appendices

List of Abbreviations

Institutions

BL	British Library, London
MARC	Methodist Archives and Research Centre, John Rylands University Library of Manchester
RCM	Royal College of Music, London

Chapter 1: METHODIST ROOTS

While in school at Oxford, brothers, John and Charles Wesley started a college "Holy Club" that stressed a disciplined Christian life and inner purity through methodical diligence in prayer, sacraments, and the study of scripture. The club eventually grew into an evangelical reform movement that swept through the Anglican Church, and was transplanted to the American colonies during the course of the eighteenth century. The movement, called Methodism, at first sought only to better Christian life within the Anglican Church, but soon after the death of its co-founders, separated from the Church of England entirely to become its own sect.

Yet, even during their lifetimes, the Methodist co-founders met harsh criticism and, on occasion, mob violence in opposition to their fervent religious movement. Their preaching was unsanctioned, and threatened the traditions of the established church. Anglican leadership found the brothers overly enthusiastic at best and fanatic heretics at worst. In other circles, however, especially among the working class, great crowds gathered to hear the Wesleys preach the born-again gospel of personal faith and discipleship wherever their itinerant ministry took them throughout the British Isles.

John Wesley was known far and wide for his fiery preaching at revival meetings. Charles Wesley also preached sermons, but was known better as the hymn writer and poetic muse of the Methodist Church. He is said to have often broken into song while preaching, and personally recounted how "God enabled me to lift up my voice like a trumpet, so that all distinctly heard me."[1] John, writing to his brother Charles in 1766, succinctly defined their individual strengths: "I am the head … and you are the heart of the work." [2] Of the thousands of hymns that Charles Wesley penned, one of the most widely known today is his *Hark the Herald Angels Sing*, set by

---

[1] Letter August 1739 from Charles Wesley to undisclosed recipient, quoted in Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley, as Revealed by His Letters* (London: Epworth Press, 1948), 36.
[2] John Telford, ed., *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley,* vol. 4 (London: Epworth Press, 1931), 322.

Mendelssohn to the tune still heard at Christmas. Samuel Wesley, son of Charles and nephew of John, was the child of Methodism. The music of the Methodists is therefore a formative part of the story of Samuel Wesley, the musician.

Eighteenth century evangelical attitudes toward church music had roots in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the previous centuries. In Germany, Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation led toward an ideological shift away from institutionalism and toward individualism. Religion became a matter of the heart in which the Christian entered into a personal relationship with the Creator—salvation did not come by the authority of church or priest, but through a direct liaison with God.

Music was to be a powerful expression of this direct person-to-God relationship, a role that Luther enforced by translating chants from Latin to the German vernacular in many new simple and straightforward hymn settings that would be easy for a congregation to understand and sing. Luther essentially had ushered in congregational singing, and this the Anglicans soon adopted in their Psalm singing. Traditional Latin polyphony in the Church of England was replaced by new vernacular forms of worship with the Act of Uniformity of 1549. The first legal publication for English congregational worship was the Prayer Book of 1549, followed by several other collections including the famous Sternhold and Hopkins settings that, until the nineteenth century, remained in use both in the Church of England as well as in the American colonies.

In practice, however, in the eighteenth century, little congregational singing occurred in many Anglican services. The practice of 'lining out'—a type of call-and-response congregational singing in which a parish clerk would first drone each line for the sake of those without books or for those who could not read—had become slow, droll, and musically unsatisfying. Although a rich repertoire of newly composed polyphony had been developed, first by composers such as Thomas Tallis and Christopher Tye, and later by those like Thomas Morley, Thomas Weelkes, and Orlando Gibbons, their anthems and services were meant for Cathedral and Collegiate choirs, not for congregational expression.

The time was again ripe for musical reform within the church, and Methodists—whose music was characterized by robust singing[3]—led the way. As Luther had done with his contrafacta, Methodist's hymns superimposed sacred texts on secular tunes that were popular, and by turn, accessible to a mass of people. This was opposed to the Anglican use, almost exclusively, of metrical Psalms. Lively, hearty, communal hymn singing—by and for the people—became a badge of Methodism. There are accounts of Charles Wesley leading congregations in singing as they walked down the road from one meeting to the next.[4] Thomas Chatterton writing in 1770, described a Methodist as one who:

> *Could sing One hundred Hymn by rote*
> *Hymns which will sanctify the throte*
> *But some indeed composed so oddly*
> *You'd swer twas bawdy Songs made godly*[5]

Earlier, in 1744, John Scott, in his otherwise critical observations of Methodist music, had conceded that Methodists "have got some of the *most melodious* Tunes that were ever composed for *Church Music."* [6]

Congregational hymn singing was the only music of early Methodist meetings. There were no organs or other musical instruments because Methodist meetings and preaching services were assembled in all kinds of spaces including barns, warehouses, inns, or—in the absence of a sheltered space—simply outdoors. There were no organized choirs, thus, no anthems to be heard and from John Wesley's point of view, no need for them. In the 1766 minutes of the Methodist meeting John Wesley said simply, "Exhort every one in the congregation to sing." [7]

---

[3] Eric David Mackerness, *A Social History of English Music* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 124.
[4] Nicholas Temperley, "Methodist Church Music." *Grove Music Online.* Edited by Deane Root. Accessed 28 January, 2018. http/www.oxfordmusiconline.com
[5] Thomas Chatterton, *The Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton,* vol.1, ed., Donald S. Taylor (Oxford: 1971), 446-447.
[6] John Scott, *A Fine Picture of Enthusiasm* (London: J. Noon, 1744), quoted in Brett C. McInelly, *Textual Warfare and the Making of Methodism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 139.
[7] Minutes 1:532 quoted in Nicholas Temperley, "John Wesley, Music, and the People Called Methodists." in *Music and the Wesleys,* Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield, eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 6.

Indeed, there was a great suspicion of any music that approached "performance," and a choir could be thus construed. A 1782 Methodist directive stated that anthems should not be sung "unless on extraordinary occasions … because they cannot properly be called joint worship"[8] and later, "Can anything be done to prevent, what appears to us a great evil, namely BANDS of MUSIC and THEATRICAL SINGERS being brought into our Chapels?" [9]

For Methodists, music had a very pointed purpose that, in line with the Protestant Reformation, was less about the music and more about the text. Young has called it a lyrical theology.[10] Through music, theological ideas and Christian principles could be engrained and internalized by people of faith. Music was an emotional expression, which, when used properly, intensified religious feeling and edified the disciplines of Christian life. Its propensity for immoral use, however, was something of which to be wary, and something of which to be in control.

In line with this, John Wesley issued very particular guidelines regarding which hymns could be sung; preachers at the 1747 Methodist Conference were instructed to use only Wesley approved hymns in services. By the time of John's death, the Wesley family had published four hymnals specifically for use in the Methodist church.[11] John Wesley also issued particular directives for the manner in which Methodist hymns were to be sung. The appendix to his *Select Hymns* of 1761 tells Methodists to "beware of singing as if you were half dead, or half asleep; but lift up your voice with strength." At the same time, he cautioned that singing should be done modestly. It was important he said, to sing in time: "do not run before nor stay behind it." [12] At

---

[8] *An Extract* 1796: 35 quoted in Sally Drage, "Methodist Anthems," *Music and the Wesleys,* Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 71.
[9] *An Extract*, 1800:26 quoted in Sally Drage, "Methodist Anthems," 72.
[10] Carton R. Young, "The Music Settings of Charles Wesley's Hymns (1742 to 2008)," *Music and the Wesleys,* eds. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010) 103.
[11] Scott Shaw, "Music of The Early Methodist Church." *Reihai to Ongaku* Autumn (2004).
[12] John Wesley, *Select Hymns: with Tunes Annext* (London: 1761), appendix.

the 1765 conference, Methodist preachers were also told not to sing too slowly and to teach their congregations to sing note by note and to correct any wrong singing.[13]

The Wesleys encouraged, then, a high standard of execution and musicality in the singing at Methodist meetings, and this was the musical tradition into which Samuel Wesley was brought when he came into the world on Handel's birthday, February 24th, 1766.

[13] Shaw, 3.

Chapter 2: PRODIGY

Samuel Wesley showed an early aptitude for music. According to his Father's *Account*, published first in Daines Barrington's *Miscellanies,* Samuel played his first tunes at the age of three on the family harpsichord, picking out tunes on the keyboard that he had heard from the street organ such as "God Save great George our King," "Fischer's Minuet," and others.[1] The extraordinariness of this is tempered by his Father's caveat that Samuel's prodigy did not manifest as early as had his older brother's. Apparently, big brother Charles Jr. apparently could play by ear at only two and three quarters.[2]

Indeed, Charles Jr. was roughly 8 years Samuel's elder. Charles Jr. was the firstborn of the family, and any prospect of one or more of their children becoming professional musicians, was at the time, still an outlandish thought. In his account, Charles Wesley relates how his son's abilities first caught the attention of the local organist in Bristol where the Wesley family lived. Later in London, John Beard—who had been one of Handel's favorite tenors, and who now ran the Covent Garden Theatre—offered to put in a good word with William Boyce for Charles Jr. to be admitted as a chorister in the Chapel Royal. Although this would have meant a free and solid musical training, and a likely path to employment for his son, Charles Wesley refused the offer saying that he "had then no thoughts of bringing him up a musician." [3]

Modern day parents may still identify with the hope that their children might learn to appreciate music but ultimately choose a more stable career. It was the same in the eighteenth century. Charles likely imagined his sons following his footsteps in the ministry or in other learned professions; or maybe he hoped for other gentlemanly careers as doctors or lawyers. But musicians? Charles Wesley could not yet imagine that course.

---

[1] Daines Barrington, *Miscellanies* (London: 1781), 291.
[2] Ibid., 289.
[3] Thomas Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley* (London: John Mason, 1841), 681.

The visits with experts, however, continued. Mr. Keeble, Mr. Burton, Mr. Arnold, Dr. Arne, Mr. Kelway, and Dr. Boyce, all agreed that Charles Jr. "was marked by nature for a musician, and ought to cultivate his talent." "Yet," Charles Wesley mused, "still I mistrusted them, as well as myself." [4] By the time little brother Samuel showed his prodigy though, the Wesley parents were softening to the idea of their son's inexorable momentum towards a life in music. The only way Charles Jr. could be prevented from being a musician, his father wrote in 1769, would be to cut off his fingers.[5] So while he never meant Charles Jr. for music, Charles Wesley eventually accepted that he had little control over the matter. The same proved true with the youngest Wesley, who benefited from his older brother having paved the way.

Like lots of little brothers, Samuel was the beneficiary of hand-me-downs of various kinds, not the least of which was his secondhand music education. Samuel was three when Charles Jr. started taking lessons with Mr. Kelway, and Samuel would go with him to listen. He loved observing his brother's lessons and looking over Charles' shoulder, taking "great delight … in hearing his brother play." [6] He was "so excessively fond of Scarlatti that if Charles ever began playing his lesson before Sam was called, he would cry and roar as if he had been beaten." [7] At home, Charles would pass the evenings playing through Handel's oratorios and "Sam was always at his elbow, listening, and joining with his voice." [8] This arrangement, according to Daines Barrington, provided Samuel a "double advantage." [9] From infancy, he heard the best music, and heard it played very well by his prodigious older brother.

By the age of four, Samuel taught himself to read by studying a copy of Handel's *Samson*, and according to his Father, by five, "had all the recitatives, and choruses of Samson,

---

[4] Jackson, 683.
[5] Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003), 21.
[6] Barrington, 292.
[7] George John Stevenson, *Memorials of the Wesley Family* (London: 1876), 490.
[8] Ibid., 492.
[9] Barrington, 292.

and the Messiah, both words and notes, by heart." [10] When he was six, Samuel started his own lessons with a local neighborhood organist, David Williams, though Charles Wesley later commented, "it was hard to say which was the master and which the scholar." [11]

Samuel reportedly had an impressive aural memory, and upon hearing a piece could tell whose music it was, "whether Handel, Corelli, Scarlatti, or any other; and what part of what lesson, sonata, or overture." [12] His aural memory also served him well in his own compositions, since he did not yet know how to write. "His custom was, to lay the words of an oratorio before him, and sing them all over … when he repeated the same words, it was always to the same tunes." [13] This was the way the six-year-old Samuel composed his oratorio *Ruth*—in his head. He kept his piece memorized for two years until he learned well enough how to write that he could finally notate it.

It was around this time that Samuel also started to play the violin. His father recounts that while Charles Jr. practiced the organ, little Samuel would "stand by, with his childish fiddle, scraping and beating time." [14] In his 1836 autobiographical *Reminiscences,* Samuel remembers that he largely taught himself. The violin was becoming an increasingly popular instrument in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, and along with that interest, came a number of do-it-yourself tutors on the topic. They were of varying quality, from the earlier *Nolens Volens or You Shall Learn to Play the Violin Whether You Will or No* (1695)*,* to the much more significant *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (1751) by Francesco Geminiani.

Samuel did, however, have some formal lessons on the violin, at first for about six weeks with an army musician, Mr. McBean. Twenty or so more lessons followed with William

---

[10] Thomas Jackson, ed., *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.; to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry,* vol. 2 (London: 1849), 154.
[11] Barrington, 294.
[12] Ibid., 292.
[13] Ibid., 294.
[14] Barrington, 292.

Kingsbury, during which Samuel learned Corelli's violin music. Later, the famous Mannheim violinist, Wilhelm Cramer, who had settled in London in 1772, took an interest in Samuel and offered to teach him, confident that "a very few lessons would set him up for a violinist." [15]

Samuel was starting to attract the attention of famous musicians. In 1774, the respected composer William Boyce visited the Wesley home, famously saying to Samuel's father upon arrival, "Sir, I hear you have got an English Mozart in your house." [16] It was on this visit that Samuel showed Boyce his oratorio, *Ruth* that he had recently written down. Looking through the score, Boyce commented encouragingly, "These Airs are some of the prettiest I have seen: this Boy writes by Nature as good a Bass as I can by Skill and Study." [17] Samuel later sent his entire *Ruth* to Dr. Boyce. In a thank you note to the child, Boyce wrote that he would preserve the work "with the utmost Care, as the most curious Product of his musical Library." [18]

It is no accident that Samuel would choose to set *Ruth,* an oratorio, for his first major piece. The oratorio was in its heyday during Samuel's youth and was a central part of his musical development. He studied oratorios. He memorized them. He learned to read from oratorio librettos. He attended any number of the oratorio performances which were regular fixtures at Covent Garden and the several hospital chapels. The four main English institutions of this kind were the Foundling Hospital for Children, the Asylum or House of Refuge for Female Orphans, the Magdalen Hospital for Penitent Prostitutes, and the Lock Hospital for patients with venereal disease. Chapels at these philanthropic hospitals often put on fundraising concerts that usually attracted wealthy and fashionable audiences. While the hospital chapels were authorized for

---

[15] Barrington, 297.
[16] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences,* BL Add 27593, fol. 36.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

public worship, they were not under the purview of a bishop.[19] As a result, they were fertile ground for Anglican evangelicals and dissenting bodies like the Methodists.

The chaplain of the Lock Hospital was the wealthy Methodist, Martin Madan. Converted in 1750 after hearing one of John Wesley's sermons, Madan became a close Wesley family friend and eventually Samuel's godfather. At the Lock Hospital, Madan built a bustling music program, and in 1762, petitioned and partially financed a new 800-seat chapel. The following year, he established annual oratorio performances at the Lock that mirrored the Foundling Hospital's annual performances of Handel's *Messiah*. At the Lock, however, it was a setting of *Ruth* with music originally by Charles Avison and Felice Giardini that became the signature oratorio. *Ruth* was later revised to include only music by Giardini, and was performed every year between 1768 and 1780.[20] Given Madan's connection with the Lock Hospital, and his close relationship with the family, Samuel would have no doubt grown up hearing *Ruth*. It is no wonder he decided to write his own version.

By way of his wealthy and well-connected godfather, Samuel came to the attention of other prominent aristocrats and important London musicians. Among those in Madan's circle of influence were the director of music at the Concert of Ancient Music, Charles Burney, and another music historian, John Hawkins, along with James Nares who directed music at the Chapel Royal. It was through Madan that Samuel met Carl Friedrich Abel who ran the prominent Bach-Abel concert series with Johann Christian Bach, the youngest son of Johann Sebastian Bach. Through Madan, Samuel also met his future violin teacher Wilhelm Cramer, who served as concertmaster of the Bach-Abel orchestra.

---

[19] Nicholas Temperley et al., "London." *Grove Music Online.* Edited by Deane Root. Accessed 28 January, 2018. http/www.oxfordmusiconline.com
[20] Olleson, *Samuel Wesley.* 6-7.

Samuel Wesley played for a number of other "Counsellors and Right Honourables." [21] In 1776, when Samuel and his sister Sally spent a month with the Russell family in Guildford while their parents were in Wales, sister Sally reported home on her ten-year-old little brother, writing that, "the house is continually filled" and "crowds come to hear Sam play." [22] On another occasion, Sally details, "That morning … we were received in a very friendly manner by Mr. Madan, his daughters, and Mrs. Madan. Again did Sammy perform, to the great wonder and delight of his hearers which were not a few. Mr. Madan and his son were equally assiduous to entertain him with fireworks and a trap-ball." She also notes, "I believe he [Samuel] would not play if he was not to be rewarded with gunpowder." [23] Thus, Samuel Wesley, the prodigy musician well beyond his years, was also a strong-willed boy who knew how to profit from the display of his talents.

James Price was the gunpowder manufacturer for Samuel's fireworks, and was also a mutual friend of the Russells. He was one of those who likely heard Samuel play during the month-long visit to Guildford. Price took a great liking to Samuel, so much so that he left him an inheritance of a house and a thousand pounds.

Lord Aylsford, Lord Dudley, Sir Watkin Wynne, the Honourable Daines Barrington, and "other lovers of Handel" [24] were also among the many for whom Samuel played while growing up. Barrington witnessed the boy's talents firsthand and wrote extensively about Samuel's childhood, even petitioning Charles Wesley to chronicle his son's musical gifts. Barrington edited and published Charles Wesley's *Account of His Two Sons* along with his own observations in 1781 as a part of his *Miscellanies.* Among the topics covered in Barrington's *Miscellanies* are the possibility of reaching the North Pole, whether the turkey was known before the discovery of

---

[21] Letter 18 June 1776 from Sally Wesley to her parents, quoted in James Lightwood, *Samuel Wesley, Musician: the Story of His Life* (London: Epworth Press, 1937), 36.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Stevenson, 502.
[24] Barrington, 294.

America, thoughts on the deluge in the time of Noah, and observations on various child prodigies including Mozart and William Crotch in addition to the Wesley children.

Barrington's book offers valuable information and context for Samuel's early childhood. Samuel was given lots of opportunities to perform, albeit all privately arranged. While his Father allowed a stream of visitors to their home, and while he allowed his son to be taken around by trusted associates to various important musicians and aristocrats, Charles Wesley initially rejected any notions of Samuel giving bona fide public performances. In hindsight, one wonders whether, if Samuel had been allowed to make public tours as Leopold Mozart had done for his prodigious son, the lasting reputation of Samuel Wesley might have been greater than it turned out to be.

Nonetheless, the childhood celebrity that accompanied Samuel's reputation as a child prodigy resulted in unavoidable attention. This caused Charles Wesley a great deal of worry. While he wanted to give Samuel opportunities for his musical development, he also greatly feared that the attention would interfere with Samuel's spiritual development. While traveling for the ministry in 1773, Charles Wesley wrote home to a then seven-year-old Samuel. "Foolish people are too apt to praise you. If they see anything good in you they should praise God, not you, for it. As for music, it is neither good nor bad in itself. You have a natural inclination to it: but God gave you that: therefore, God only should be thanked and praised for it. Your brother has the same love of music much more than you, yet he is not proud or vain of it. Neither, I trust, will you be." [25] This was to be a tightrope on which Charles Wesley constantly walked, balancing praise and pride of Samuel's abilities, with protectionism.

---

[25] Baker, 111.

Chapter 3: LONDON LIFE

The parade of visitors continued and even burgeoned once the Wesleys moved from their longtime home in Bristol to the outskirts of London. As early as 1760, Charles Wesley had thought of moving to London and closer to Methodist headquarters, writing home to his wife, "as I shall probably take much more public care upon me than I have ever done here before, my office will require me to spend more time in town, perhaps to settle here." [1] The life of an itinerant minister was exhausting, and as traveling was becoming more difficult with age, Charles longed to spend more time at home. In 1771, a wealthy Methodist supporter, Mrs. Martha Gumley, offered the Wesleys a twenty-year prepaid lease on a home at No. 1 Chesterfield Street, Marylebone.[2] The Wesleys stayed in Marylebone intermittently before moving permanently in 1778.

An advantage of less frequent travel was that Charles Wesley could be even more involved in his children's education. London was the center of musical activity in the country, and Charles Wesley certainly imagined his children would have more musical opportunities there, including access to better teachers, and exposure to higher quality concerts by eminent performers. Samuel, for example, could hear oratorios more frequently, and is known to have attended open rehearsals at St. Paul's Cathedral,[3] as well as a number of public concerts. After attending the Bach-Abel concerts on one occasion, Samuel was reportedly "very satisfied" although he thought "the musical pieces ill arranged … as four had been played successively which were all in the same key." [4]

---

[1] Baker, 107.
[2] The house has since been demolished, and the Chesterfield Street has been renamed as Wheatley street, but the site is marked by one of the ubiquitous blue plaques that mark historical sites throughout England.
[3] Olleson, *Samuel Wesley,* 219.
[4] Barrington, 303.

The Bach-Abel Concerts were popular and one of the longest running in eighteenth-century London, but they were only a small part of the greater London concert scene. Indeed, musical life in London during Samuel's childhood and teenage years of the 1770's and 1780's was thriving. In many respects, England enjoyed a unique cultural climate, and fostered a kind of concert life not seen elsewhere in the rest of continental Europe. Music history sometimes relegates the period after Purcell extending from the eighteenth to the early nineteenth century as the "Dark Ages" of English music,[5] but this is a relatively old-fashioned assessment. Rather than being a musical desert,[6] London at the end of the eighteenth century was saturated with concerts, spurred on by a voracious public appetite for musical entertainments. A perusal of eighteenth century London newspapers, many of which are now archived online,[7] are filled with advertisements by instrument dealers peddling the new and very popular Broadwood fortepiano, along with advertisements for new music publications and for upcoming concerts. The 1774 Public Advertiser lists the main events for the week. "On Monday the Pantheon, Tuesday the Opera, Wednesday Bach and Abel's Concert, Thursday Almack's, and Saturday the Opera again." [8] In addition to these regular events were a great many competing subscription concerts. Another newspaper described the situation in 1792: "There are no fewer than sixteen public Subscription Concerts at this moment going forward in the metropolis, besides the various select parties with which it abounds. Each of those has a distinguished leader and performers of great eminence. This at least will prove to the world our musical rage …" [9]

---

[5] Stanley Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 85th Sess. (1958 - 1959): 17-30.
[6] Oscar Schmitz, *Das Land ohne Musik: englisch Gesellschaftsprobleme* (München: G. Muller, 1914)
[7] Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO)
[8] Simon McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries* (New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989), 5.
[9] *Morning Chronicle*, Feb 8, 1792, quoted in Thomas Milligan, *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983), 17.

This ‘musical rage’ in England coincided with an economic boom brought on by the Industrial Revolution. While devastating poverty persisted in segments of the London population, prosperous trade and manufacturing created an increasingly wealthy upper class, as well as a burgeoning middle class, eager to patronize concerts. Unlike other major European centers, court patronage in England after the Civil War was weak, with a somewhat isolated influence on public taste. London musical life thus became less regulated by nobility and gradually more commercialized, with concerts available to a wider variety of the public.

The concert-going middle and upper class public who met certain qualifications of wealth and social status could patronize any number of offerings in London, including the Italian opera, summer garden concerts, masques, oratorios, benefit concerts and subscription concerts. Garden concerts usually took place during the summer. They were the most affordable and most informal place to hear music, and thus had the widest cross-section across classes. The King’s Theatre hosted the widely popular Italian opera, while the two English playhouses at Covent Garden and Drury Lane employed orchestras to play concertos and instrumental music before the curtain opened and during intermissions. During Lent, oratorios were heard at the playhouses for reasonable ticket prices and were therefore attended by a fairly diverse audience. Individual musicians also put on their own concerts, usually in the form of an end-of-season Benefit Concert—a last money-making hurrah before the slow summer season.

Private concerts were also ubiquitous. Some of these were instituted by the many musical societies that in the eighteenth century, were springing up all over the country. This type of private concert was most often operated by amateurs and enthusiasts who played together for their own pleasure rather than for profit. Aristocrats and the well-connected also gave private concerts in their homes for an invited audience. The music historian Charles Burney hosted such

events, bringing in several professional musicians as his guests.[10] Other private concerts, like the Nobility Concert and the Ladies Concert, rotated from house to house in certain wealthy circles. These private soirees were a separatist reaction against a growing mixed-class public at popular concerts.[11] By keeping their events truly private, elites could keep the riff-raff out!

Although Subscription Concerts were public they catered to the upper classes by virtue of high ticket prices as well as the requirement of advance payment, which usually ran a not insignificant sum from 3, to upwards of 6 guineas for the entire season.[12] These events were where nobility and gentry could hear the latest music—concert advertisements often billed the newest foreign star. Some subscription concerts, like the Bach-Abel series required potential attendees to apply to a committee before being permitted to subscribe.[13] Johann Peter Salomon's subscription concert brought Haydn to London in 1791–1792, to such great acclaim that the exclusive audience was "awakened to such a degree of enthusiasm … as almost amounts to frenzy!" [14]

Besides famous foreign stars, the London public was also captivated by child prodigies. A resourceful parent would act as the promoter and sell tickets, often with great success. Two of the prodigies Barrington featured in his *Miscellanies* were Mozart and Crotch. Mozart was brought to London to play a concert at Hicksford's Rooms in 1765, the year before Samuel Wesley was born, and in 1780, William Crotch gave a concert at the Pantheon when he was only four years old.

It was into this London musical milieu that the Wesleys would move in 1778.

---

[10] J. Bretherton after drawing by Charles Loraine Smith, etching, A Sunday Concert at Dr. Burney's, 1782. Reproduced as the frontispiece in Burney, Charles, and Frank Mercer. *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789).* New York: Dover Publications, 1957.
[11] Temperley et al., "London."
[12] McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life,* 21.
[13] Ibid., 15.
[14] Letter 4 July 1791of Miss Iremonger, quoted in Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793," *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle,* 22 (1989): 2.

Chapter 4: THE FAMILY CONCERTS

The Wesleys had several good reasons to leave Bristol, but it was perhaps the idea for the boys to start their own concert series that provided the final impetus. By the end of 1778, the Wesleys started circulating their concert proposal among their friends and family. It read:

1779
It is Proposed
By Messrs Cha. & Sam. Wesley
To have every other Thursday at
their own Home in Chest.ld St. Marybone[1]
An Entertainment
Of (chiefly) their own Music, consist-
ing of Overtures, Concerto's, Quartettos,
Trios, Duets (particularly for Two Or-
gans), Solo's, Extempore Lessons on the
Harpsd. & Voluntaries on the Organ.
The Price for 6 Concerts 3 Guin.s
The Number of Subscribers 14
The Music begins, while ye Clock
is striking Seven
The First Concert on Thursday January 14. 1779 [2]

Samuel was twelve at that first January concert—still young enough to be considered a prodigy. His older brother Charles Jr. on the other hand was already twenty-one, and Samuel's father was seventy-one years old.

The concerts were held in their new house on Chesterfield Street that had, by some accounts, come already furnished with two organs for the boys.[3] The concerts were given on the main floor of the house—or the "piano nobile"—in the large drawing room, the grandest room in the house, that by one estimate, was approximately 600sq ft.[4]

---

[1] This area of London was spelled various ways including Marybourne, Marybone, Mary-la-bonne and Marylebone.
[2] Transcribed in Alyson McLamore, "'By the Will and Order Providence': The Wesley Family Concerts, 1779-1787." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 37 (2004): 76.
[3] Ibid., 75, note 24.
[4] Peter S. Forsaith, "Pictorial Precocity: John Russell's Portraits of Charles and Samuel Wesley," in *Music and the Wesleys,* Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 163.

The Wesley family concerts followed the established London "winter concerts" season, defined on one end by the Queen's birthday on January 18th, and at the other by George III's birthday on June 4th.[5] The Wesleys scheduled their concerts for every other Thursday night, except in the final season when they switched to Tuesdays. The advertised price in this first proposal of 3 guineas for the season was roughly in line with other subscription concerts around town—high enough to ensure a well-classed and respectable audience.

For Charles Wesley, the exclusivity imposed by cost was probably most welcome. Fearing music's propensity for immoral use, he had been careful to associate his children with only trusted musical contacts. Samuel had not given public concerts as had Mozart or Crotch, save a rare occasion in 1777 when he played in a benefit concert organized by Johann Christian Bach. With the new family concerts, Charles Wesley finally allowed his sons to be in the musical world, but was still concerned that they be not of it. By holding the concerts under his own roof, he felt could still protect his sons from bad influences and keep them from corruption.

Charles Wesley remained suspicious throughout his life of "the whole Tribe of Musicians." At the end of the first concert season in 1779, he wrote to his friend John Langshaw criticizing musicians for their collective neglect of Sunday worship and lack of punctuality.[6] Yet, Charles Wesley—co-founder of the Methodist movement—was far more liberal in his acceptance of music outside the church than was his brother John, or even many of his own Methodist converts.

Music, specifically singing, in the Methodist church was both invigorated and highly regulated. Especially in its beginnings, Methodist music was all sung, and all a capella. No instruments were used during services initially, though accompaniment by a solo continuo cello

---

[5] McVeigh, *The Violinist in London's Concert Life,* 4.
[6] Charles Wesley and John Langshaw, *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence: Charles Wesley, His Sons, and the Lancaster Organists,* ed., Arthur Wainwright, in collaboration with Don E. Saliers (Atlanta: Emory University, 1993), letter 8.

was endorsed in 1805 as long as it was played in a "simple, grave, devotional style that instead of drawing attention to singing and the singers…raised the soul to God only." [7] While there was a distinction between music for use in services, and music for use outside the church, the cautionary attitudes about music found their way into non-Methodist music in general, especially instrumental music.

Part of this attitude descended from the Puritan tradition, with which the both the Wesleys and Methodists had strong ties. Samuel's great-grandfather was Dr. William Annesley, an important Puritan leader. A generation before, and on the other side of the family was another Puritan leader, Bartholomew Westley. Samuel's grandparents on both sides of his family were among the thousands of ministers expelled from the Church of England in the Great Ejection of 1662 for opposing the Restoration Act of Uniformity which aimed to rid the church of Puritans.

In many ways, seventeenth-century Puritanism and eighteenth-century Methodism were cut from the same cloth. Both were reform movements within the Anglican Church that were fundamentally populist and intensely evangelistic.[8] The Puritan movement also passed down to Methodism strong attitudes concerning music and other entertainments. The 1583 *Anatomie of Abuses* by the Puritan Philip Stubbes set out the ideas that music is seductive and among other things can lure men into "effeminacy," "pusillanimity," and depraved living. "Sweet Musick at first delighteth the eares, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the minde, making it weake …" [9] While he granted that "Musick is a good gift of GOD, and that it delighteth bothe man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the hart …" [10] he also warned that music in public

---

[7] Drage, 72.
[8] John A. Newton, *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism* (London: Epworth Press, 1968), 25.
[9] Phillip Stubbes, *Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespere's Youth, A.D. 1583,* ed., Fredrick Furnivall (London: Pub. For the New Shakespere society, by Trübner & co., 1877-9), 160.
[10] Stubbes., 170.

assemblies and its associations with dancing and minstrels, was unclean, corrupt, and an agent for scurrility. Stubbes summed it all up with a warning to (instrumental) musicians:

> Give over, therfore, your Occupations, you Pypers, you Fidlers, you minstrelles, and you musitions, you Drummers, you Tabretters, you Fluters, and all other of that wicked broode; for the blood of all those whome you drawe to destruction, thorow your provocations and intysing alluremente*s*, shalbe powred uppon your heads at the day of Judgement." [11]

These are certainly harsh words, and probably represent an extreme view. Another extreme case of Puritanical suspicion of music and its evils dates from the English Civil War in the 1640's. Acting on the notion that instrumental music in services could devolve into mere performance, distracting worshippers from a true focus on God and scripture, a Puritan faction ransacked churches and demolished their organs, which were seen as monuments of idolatry and superstition.[12] Still, Puritan attitudes toward music were complex, and focusing on their severity is one-sided. In fact, as Percy Scholes, the complier of the first edition of The Oxford Companion to Music, notes, Puritans were lovers of music in private, and their suspicious attitudes toward music should be specifically assigned to certain secular public music-making.[13]

Eighteenth-century Methodists on the whole also disapproved of secular music, though the reins were not held quite so tightly. Methodists sang religious texts reset to popular tunes, but they continued to oppose music connected with the theater, especially instrumental music. Philip Olleson calls this a general failure for Methodists to "recognize the value of music except insofar as it could be used for worship." [14] The bias against the theatre was not unfounded. Sexual license was rampant in the theatre world, especially at the opera. Weber cites this as being true both in

---

[11] Ibid., 172.
[12] Mackerness, 106.
[13] Percy A. Scholes, *Puritans and Music in England and New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1934), 428.
[14] Philip Olleson, "Father and Sons: Charles, Samuel, and Charles the Younger," *Music and the Wesleys,* Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield, eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 177.

London and in Paris from the 1720's, peaking in the 1780's. Over half of the subscribers to the Paris opera or their spouses show up in detailed police reports of public immorality.[15]

A further prejudice against concerts can be traced to the first public concerts in England, which were often held in taverns and public houses. Some of the organs removed from churches by the Puritans found their way to tavern music rooms where both theater musicians and theater patrons gathered for entertainments.[16]

On the other hand, music, as the "handmaid to devotion[17]"—that is, when used in the context of religious piety—was highly valued by Methodists. Music in its proper use held great power to lead a heart to God. Song could help worshippers internalize important precepts of theology, and enhance the understanding of religious texts, but even this had to be music in a certain style, so as not to obscure the text. Text always held primacy over the music. In an August 1768 journal entry, John Wesley reacted with disgust to a service he had attended where the choir sang complicated music that obscured the text: "Twelve or fourteen persons … repeated the same words contrary to all sense and reason, six or eight or ten times over; according to the shocking custom of modern music, different persons sung different words at one and the same moment; an intolerable insult on common sense, and utterly incompatible with any devotion." [18]

A few month later, after reading Charles Avison's, *Essay on Music* John Wesley recorded more thoughts regarding the subject in a 1768 journal entry: "I was much surprised in reading an *Essay on Music* … to find that the music of the ancients was as simple as that of the Methodists; that their music wholly consisted of melody, or the arrangement of single notes; that what is now called harmony, singing in parts, the whole of counterpoint and fugues, is quite novel …" [19]

---

[15] William Weber, *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain,* eds. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh (Berlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004), 81.
[16] Termperley et al., "London".
[17] Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley,* 692.
[18] John Wesley, *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley,* vol. 5, ed., Nehemiah Curnock (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909), 281.
[19] Ibid., 290.

Modern oratorio, however, did hold special pride of place for John Wesley and the Methodists, especially Handel's *Messiah,* as it was drawn directly from scripture.

Music performed outside of the realms of congregational edification was for Uncle John Wesley, a slippery slope. Instrumental music performance, if it did not interfere with church worship, could not be entirely condemned, but it still carried with it the propensity for evil. John Wesley was never entirely comfortable with his nephew's devotion to music, or their family concerts. He remained apprehensive of music's carnal capacities and of the concert's ties to wealth and worldly amusements. Professional musicians were not often associated with godly living, and in John's many letters to his nephews, he urged them to keep sight of their Christian roots.

Charles Wesley did not share all of John's opinions on music, its place in the church, or his son's involvement with music outside the church. While he had plenty of misgivings about supporting his sons in a music career, he was careful with their musical education. While he allowed music-making within far more liberal bounds than his brother John would have liked—and indeed, than most Methodists would accept—it was still music within bounds.

Yet, by virtue of his position within Methodist society, Charles Wesley was held to a high standard, and his choices attracted a great deal of scrutiny. Even before the family concerts started, the time and money—and there was a great deal of money invested in lessons and supplies—that Charles Wesley put toward his sons' music education was a red flag for Methodists who felt it distracted their leader from his devotion to the ministry. Furthermore, his forays into fashionable society and worldly connections outside the church seemed hypocritical. Charles Wesley had once defined a "Man of Fashion" as:

> "a busy man without employment,
> A happy man without enjoyment …
> In sleep and dress and sport and play,
> He throws his worthless life away …

And lives an Ape, and dies a Fool!" [20]

A fellow Methodist, John Fletcher wrote to Charles Wesley in 1771, that his allowances for his sons' music were damaging his reputation. "You have your enemies … they complain of your love for music, company and fine clothes, great folks, and the want of your former zeal and frugality. I need not put you in mind to cut off sinful appearances." [21] John Fletcher reiterated again in 1775, "You are in danger from music, children, poetry; and I from speculation, controversy, sloth, &c., &c. Let us watch against the deceitfulness of self and sin in all their appearances.[22]

The conflict of this prominent Methodist preacher between his desire to do right by his children's talents and the fine company he kept in doing so, and his duties to uphold the conservative Methodist values of a moral, humble, disciplined life, are articulated in a memorandum *Reasons for letting my Sons have a Concert at home.*[23] This, Charles Wesley penned in mid-January of 1779, a couple of weeks prior to the very first family concert. Charles Wesley was certainly anticipating a Methodist backlash to the concerts, and his *Reasons* were his own proactive manifesto meant to meet any negative reaction. While the *Reasons* express Charles Wesley's own ambivalence toward the music profession, they are balanced by his plans to guide his sons through it. Charles Wesley's justifications for the family concerts were as follows:

> (1) to keep them out of harm's way: the way (I mean) of bad Music and bad Musicians who by a free Communication with them might corrupt both their Taste and their Morals.
> (2) That my Sons may have a safe and honourable Opportunity of availing themselves of their musical Abilities, which have cost me several hundred pounds.
> (3) That they may enjoy their full right of private Judgment, and likewise their Independency: both of which must be given up if they swim with the Stream and follow the Multitude.
> (4) To improve their Play and their Skill in Composing: as they must themselves furnish the principal Music of every Concert. Altho' they do not call their Musical Entertainment

---

[20] Charles Wesley, "Man of Fashion," quoted in Frederick C. Gill, *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1965), 210.
[21] Letter 13 October 1771, John Fletcher to Charles Wesley, quoted in Baker, 110.
[22] Letter January 1775, John Fletcher to Charles Wesley, *Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher,* ed. Melville Horne (New York: Lane & Scott, 1849), 261.
[23] [MARC] DDWes 4/65, also printed in *Armenian Magazine* 12 (1789), 387.

> a Concert. It is too great a Word. They do not presume to rival the present great masters who excel in the variety of their Accompaniments …

While bad company and bad musicians could corrupt both his sons' good taste and good morals, Charles Wesley felt that by having the concerts under his own roof, he could protect his children from the worst of it, while still giving them a safe and honorable outlet to develop their skill both as performers and as composers. In this way, Charles Wesley mitigated music's risks and balanced them with its benefits for his sons.

Though not listed as one of his reasons, organizing the family concerts may also reflect a parental effort to pave the way for Charles and later Samuel, to be well enough equipped in a trade that they could support themselves. Keeping Charles and Samuel largely out of the public eye, and away from the commercial side of music during their childhood might have protected their morals, but it had not given them any advantage in terms of earning a living in the music profession. Charles Jr. was 21, living at home. A college education was not planned, and there were as of yet, no prospects of a steady job for him. There were no regrets, however. Charles Wesley writes in 1779: "We do not repent that we did not make a show or advantage of our swans. They may still make their fortune, if I would venture them into the world." [24] He writes again, in another letter, "I can with good conscience breed up my son to be a musician, not to please the giddy multitude but to earn his bread." [25] Yet, during preparations for the fourth concert season, Charles Wesley confided in John Langshaw, "He [Charles Jr.] and Sam are busy, preparing for their Concerts … Yet I don't wish them to make more haste to be rich." [26] But by the time the concerts had ended in 1787, the mission seems to have been accomplished, at least in the Father's eyes. Charles Wesley wrote to Samuel October 4th of that year. "Hitherto I have

---

[24] Lightwood, 52.
[25] Baker, 110.
[26] *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence,* 56.

provided for your brother and you with a willing mind. It is no longer in my power. You and Charles are now able to do it for yourselves." [27]

Indeed, over the course of the nine years of family concerts, Samuel and Charles Jr. had met and performed with established musicians in their field. They had learned how to be soloists, and had gained valuable practical experience composing and playing extemporaneous improvisations. By the time it was all said and done, Samuel had been featured on keyboard, violin, oboe, or voice in 112 pieces, led the orchestra as concertmaster for numerous orchestral works, and composed 72 pieces of his own.[28]

These specific numbers are gleaned from Charles Wesley's very detailed and well-preserved Register of Concerts. Charles Wesley was a prolific diarist and note taker, and his habits have served history well. He even practiced and taught a system of shorthand developed by John Byrom in the 1720s.[29]

The Register of Concerts is a meticulous document that provides substantial information concerning dates and programs from each of the family concert seasons. It also lists individual performers, specific subscribers and attendees to the concerts, as well as profits and expenses for everything from food and tea and rehearsal wine to printing and marketing costs and money paid to the hair stylist. Although, frustratingly, names of specific pieces or even identifying key signatures are often omitted, making it difficult to determine which works were performed in what season. The concert register is held at the Methodist Archives at the University of Manchester.[30] There is an additional source held at the Royal Academy of Music,[31] and an incomplete copy by Samuel Wesley's daughter, Eliza Wesley, at the British Library.[32] Recent

---

[27] Lightwood, 74.
[28] Alyson McLamore, "The Wesley Family Concerts," 109.
[29] John Tyson, *Charles Wesley: A Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 51. See note 8.
[30] [MARC] DDCW 6/52, DDCW 6/55, DDCW 6/56, DDCW 6/57, DDCW 6/58, DDCW 8/15, and DDCW 8/21
[31] [RAM] MS-L Wesley
[32] [BL] Add. MS 35017

work with these sources by Alyson McLamore has further organized the material from the Register of Concerts into numerous and helpful charts and tables.[33]

In the first season proposal, the Wesleys had set a goal of fourteen subscribers. Although at their opening they had an audience of only twelve, by their season finale thirty-one were in attendance. For the second season, they hoped for sixty subscribers, but averaged forty-six. The event with the highest attendance was the last concert of the third season, to which sixty-two people came to listen.[34] This put the house at 75% capacity, as evidenced by a draft proposal for the second season, which states that their concert room "will be fitted up … to contain Fourscore Persons." [35]

The lists of specific subscribers and attendees in Charles Wesley's record are valuable, as they give an idea of the social circle in which the family moved. Marylebone, where the new family home was located, was a London suburb, and a good distance from the fashionable rooms and theaters to which audiences were accustomed to going for concerts. Those who attended, especially in the early seasons, would therefore not have been the general concert-going public, but rather people with whom the Wesley family were already connected.

In his records, Charles Wesley arranges his lists in descending social order. Given the cost of the subscription (3 guineas), many of the subscribers over the nine seasons were aristocrats, including Lord Mornington, father of the Duke of Wellington, along with the Earl of Exeter and Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, who together directed the Concerts of Ancient Music. Important figures in the Church of England Robert Louth (the Bishop of London) and Antony Shepherd (Dean of St. George's Chapel, Windsor) are also listed. The foreign ambassadors of Saxony, Denmark, and Sweden came, along with Pascal Paoli, a Corsican resistance leader exiled

---

[33] McLamore, "The Wesley Family Concerts," 80-220.
[34] Ibid., 103-104.
[35] [MARC] DDCW 8/21: 25–26 transcribed in Alyson McLamore, "Harmony and Discord in the Wesley Family Concerts." in *Music and the Wesleys,* eds. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 165.

in Britain. The English abolitionist William Wilberforce was in attendance, as was and Sir Edward Walpole, who was a keen amateur musician and the former prime minister's son. Samuel's well-connected, godfather Martin Madan, was of course, one of the audience members, along with his cousin, William Cowper, a poet, and William Bromfield, founder of the Lock Hospital. Lord Barrington—who published Charles Wesley's *Account*—also, to no surprise, subscribed for eight seasons, although, attendance lists reveal that he never actually attended a concert. His brother, Wildman Barrington, on the other hand, was a frequent visitor. General Oglethorpe, with whom Charles and John Wesley had traveled as missionaries to the American colony of Georgia in 1736, subscribed from the third season until his death in 1785. Several family friends attended such as James Price—Samuel's supplier of fireworks and gunpowder. Musician colleagues, among them organists John Worgan, Richard Wafer, and Samuel Arnold, were also there. Relatives could also be found in the audience, many of whom were from the wealthy maternal side of the family.[36] Even John Wesley, despite all his misgivings, finally showed up in the third season, recording in his journal: "I spent an agreeable hour at the concert of my nephews … But I was a little out of my element among Lords and Ladies. I love plain music and plain company best." [37] While John's support carried a measure of reluctance, he continued to attend several other concerts between 1783 and 1785, in order to show that he had come to consider the concerts "no sin." [38]

At the Wesley family concerts, Charles Jr. and Samuel were the main attractions—Charles mostly played the organ, and Samuel went back and forth between organ and violin. They hired other personnel who were paid half a guinea per concert[39] to make up a small orchestra, and occasionally employed guest singers as well. The orchestra was generally

---

[36] Alyson McLamore, "The Wesley Family Concerts" (Calendar of Audiences), 156-203.
[37] John Wesley, *Journal,* 303.
[38] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences,* 3.
[39] Olleson, *Samuel Wesley,* 23.

comprised of two first and two second violins, one viola, one cello and a pair of horns. Every now and then, the Wesleys would hire extra instrumentalists, but the orchestra never exceeded 19 members. Charles Wesley's Register of Concerts shows specific personnel for many of the seasons, though he was not as thorough with performers' names as he had been with the audience lists. The information is especially scant for the first concert season in 1779, as well as for the third season, but very detailed in the others. Admittedly, most of those hired to play in the Wesleys' orchestra have already been forgotten, but they were nonetheless solid musicians who performed throughout London at Drury Lane, Covent Garden, the King's Theatre, the Haymarket Theatre, at the Pantheon, in the Professional Concerts, or as members of The Academy of Ancient Music or the Concert of Ancient music. Many had also been inducted into the prestigious Royal Society of Musicians.[40]

Until the final two seasons, when Samuel quit the violin, he led the concerts from the concertmaster's chair. Anthony Huxtable was, more often than not, his stand partner in the first violin section, playing for the entire nine years of the series. William Kingsbury, the violinist with whom Samuel had studied Corelli, played principal second violin through much of the second season, and viola at least twice in the first season as well, although, as noted before, records for the first season are incomplete. Kingsbury would likely have continued, but he passed away in 1782. After his death, the second violin section invariably included William Higgins, with different rotating principal players. In his *Reminiscences,* Samuel Wesley recalls that the amateur musician and family friend, Lord Mornington, sometimes played viola at the concerts, although William Thomas Wilcox was the violist hired most often for that position. Hugh Reinagle regularly played cello during the early concert seasons until illness prevented him from further participation. Thomas Attwood Sr. played horn for two seasons of the Wesley family concerts, and later, the Leander brothers, Vincent and Lewis. .

---

[40] Alyson McLamore, "The Wesley Family Concerts" (Performer Index), 216-220.

Singers invited to perform with the Wesleys included a Miss M, and a Miss Carr, who was one of Charles Jr.'s students. However, particular singers usually made only sporadic appearances. A few choristers from the Chapel Royal were once called upon to participate, and Sally, the middle Wesley child, sang at least on two occasions. Charles Wesley's wife, Sarah Gwynne Wesley, apparently never performed even though she is often credited as being the source of the family talent. Sarah was a good singer and harpsichord player, having come from a well-to-do family where private music lessons at home had been a part of her upbringing. Despite Methodists being famous for their singing, and Charles Wesley their most prominent hymn writer, no religious music by anyone in the Wesley family was presented at the concerts. Methodist church music was kept entirely separate from the events.

The repertoire that all these people gathered to sing and play and hear in the Wesley drawing room was quite varied. Although in the first concert proposal for 1779 the Wesleys had promised "An Entertainment Of (chiefly) their own Music," [41] by the following season they had expanded their offerings to include early and contemporary music. The third concert proposal sums it up most succinctly.

> "The MUSIC performed, will be 1. What is called The Ancient: especially that of HANDEL, CORELLI, GEMINIANI, and SCARLATTI. 2. The most EXCELLENT, of a later Date. 3. Their Own, of every Kind; particularly Voluntaries on the Organ, Extempore Lessons on the Harpsichord, and Duets for Two Organs." [42]

The different types of music were intermixed, that is, they were not programmed chronologically. The concert was presented in two 'Acts' with an intermission.

In practice, these categories of ancient, modern, and the Wesley's own compositions, would encompass many genres of orchestral music including concertos, overtures and symphonies, and a wide range of chamber music, including solos, duets, trio sonatas, quintets, etc., by various composers. In addition, improvised solos and extemporization on themes at the

---

[41] Ibid., 76.
[42] McLamore, "Harmony and Discord," 170.

organ were always a central feature. Concerts usually opened with an overture, and included two or three concertos, either of the concerto grosso type, or the more modern solo concerto, with chamber music and sometimes vocal selection breaking up the larger works. Some of the more unusual chamber music from the programs included a Sonata for pedal harp performed by a Mr. Legard, a Trio for violin, cello and pentachord (a type of five stringed cello), and a Duet for violin and baryton (an instrument similar to the viol but with sympathetic strings that can also be plucked) that Samuel composed for the famous baryton player, Andreas Lidl. Charles Jr. played the organ or harpsichord almost exclusively in the concerts; Samuel alternated between keyboards and violin. Both brothers also played oboe in the concerts, though they seem to have given that up after the first two seasons.

In addition to their harpsichord, the Wesleys had not one but two organs at their disposal, on which Charles Jr. and Samuel played duets in at least fifty-eight out the sixty-four total concerts. These were often their own arrangements, and sometimes reductions of favorite pieces from Handel oratorios. Arrangements of music from *Israel in Egypt* seem to have been a regular feature. The brothers also took turns improvising at the organ. These were listed by Charles Wesley in his Register of Concerts as either organ voluntaries or extempore organ pieces, and were a part of every single concert. One might imagine a bit of sibling rivalry with the potential of two dueling organs.

Playing their own music fulfilled one of Charles Wesley's reasons for giving the concerts: that of improving his sons' skill in composing. As a result of the ready outlet for new composition, most of Samuel Wesley's orchestral music (four symphonies, one symphony obbligato, two overtures), a large portion of his chamber music (including several violin solos and duets), and all seven of his concertos date from this time of the family concerts, mostly from the early 1780s.

There are some problems with dating, and especially with matching particular Samuel Wesley concertos to their performances in specific concert seasons, since Charles Wesley left key

signature and title information largely out of his Register of Concerts. However, Samuel often includes a date of composition on his manuscripts, so at least five of the concertos can be definitively placed between November 1779 and March 1785. One concerto is dated February 24th, but does not list a year, and one other has no date at all. Whatever the case, it makes sense for Samuel to have written a concerto for the first seven concert seasons between 1779 and 1785. We know from his *Reminiscences,* that he lost interest in playing the violin after he left his favorite Italian violin in a cab. Indeed, in the final two seasons, 1786 and 1787, Samuel did not play any violin concertos, and abandoned his position as leader and concertmaster of the orchestra.

The distinction in the Wesley concert proposal between the presentation of early and contemporary music looms large in the broader story of the Wesleys, and in London concert life. Mid-eighteenth century concert series usually favored either "Ancient" or "Modern" repertoire. Subscription concerts featured modern music almost exclusively. Advertisements often announced that the works programmed for a certain upcoming evening would be performed from manuscript, with the implication that the music was so new that the ink was still wet.[43] These concerts were often dominated by works by foreign-born musicians whose international reputation was valued to the exclusion and dismay of many English composers.

J.C. Bach, Abel, and Giardini were representative of the modern galant style of the mid–eighteenth century. In 1751, Felice Giardini, who had newly arrived in London, led an ambitious and successful modern subscription series in the concert room on Dean Street. J.C. Bach and C. F. Abel started the first annual series in London in 1765 that continued until Bach's death in 1782. The series eventually resumed under a new name, the Professional Concert.

Samuel had a positive opinion of the music at these Bach-Abel concerts, of which his teacher, Wilhelm Cramer, was concertmaster. In an article, "A sketch of the state of Music in

---

[43] McLamore, "The Wesley Family Concerts," 72.

England from the year 1778 up to the present time," that Samuel Wesley contributed to the first issue of *The Musical World* in 1836, he recalls that with the Bach-Abel concerts, "art had attained a high degree of excellence" and that Abel was "an elegant and excellent composer." However, Samuel's father, Charles Wesley had a quite different opinion, writing in a poem called *Modern Music:*

> "G, B, and all[44]
> Their followers, great and small,
> Have cut Old Music's throat,
> And mangled every Note;
> Their superficial pains
> Have dash'd out all his brains:
> And now we doat upon
> A lifeless skeleton,
> The empty sound at most,
> The Squeak of Music's Ghost.[45]

Rivalling the Bach-Abel series were the concerts put on by Arnold and Vento at the newly opened Pantheon. These concerts were for a time led by the German violinist Johann Peter Salomon. Salomon also had his own series for which he brought Haydn to London. Of these concerts, Samuel wrote, "The Concerts of J. P. Salomon in Hanover Square may justly be said to have formed a grand Epoch of new musical Excellence by the Introduction of Haydn and his inimitable Symphonies into this Country." [46]

In his *Reminiscences,* Samuel Wesley also recalls the use of the fortepiano in Hadyn's London symphonies. "When the Symphonies were performed at the above Concerts, Haydn always presided at the Piano …" [47] The fortepiano had exploded in popularity in the 1780s. The Broadwood firm produced eight-thousand between 1782 and 1802 [48] and this was only one of the

---

[44] Giardini, Bach
[45] Charles Wesley, "Modern Music," *The Unpublished Poetry of Charles Wesley,* vol. 3, ed. Oliver Beckerlegge (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1992), 382.
[46] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences,* 44.
[47] Ibid., 75.
[48] Milligan, 16.

piano-building firms. The fortepiano was popular for use at home and played by amateurs, which in turn led to a wealth of music composed and published for the instrument. Samuel Wesley certainly tried to profit from the fortepiano frenzy, writing and publishing several of his own piano pieces.

On the other hand, those such as Charles Wesley who had no taste for modern music held the piano in contempt. In his poem, *The Pianoforte: Written in the Year 1783*, Wesley mockingly describes the fortepiano: "Loud as a spanking Warming-pan its tone, Delicious as the thrilling Bagpipe's Drone." [49]

Charles Wesley obviously preferred the old masters. His favorites were Purcell, Corelli, Geminiani, Handel, Croft, Blow, Boyce, and Greene.[50] By our standards, these composers' works would hardly be considered ancient for someone living in the eighteenth century. Charles Wesley was in fact, only four years younger than Boyce. Yet, "ancient" in late eighteenth century England usually meant only a generation or two earlier, not necessarily Medieval chant. The Concert of Antient Music defined the term as anything written more than twenty years earlier. Thus, the most popular composer of ancient music in England in the 1780's was arguably Handel, who had died only in 1759.

Among the charges levelled against modern music in this "wretched age of trifling composers" into which Charles Wesley's children were "born and bred," included a distaste for the new superficial galant style that was "light and frothy" rather than "solid and valuable." [51] William Jones, in his 1784 *Treatise on the Art of Music*, dedicated to the directors of the Concert of Antient Music, further complained that instrumental music had taken over vocal music, putting this generation "in danger of falling under the dominion of sound without sense." [52] Concerts that

---

[49] Charles Wesley, *Unpublished Poetry,* 3:385-386.
[50] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences,* 10.
[51] Anonymous, *Universal Magazine,* 92 (1793): 199.
[52] William Jones, *A Treatise on the Art of Music* (Colchester: W. Keymer, 1784), ii.

featured modern music were also criticized for caring more about luxury, fashion, social display, and virtuosity for virtuosity's sake than the actual music. Another publication dedicated to the Concert of Antient Music in 1778 had argued, "Music is not an amusement for the careless or idle vulgar; the musician is somewhat more than a Mountebank or Rope-Dancer; he should preserve his dignity, he must not trifle and play tricks, he must not be gay, he must be serious." [53] Another argument against modern music was that the public appetite for foreign-born virtuosi left no room for native composers. Charles Avison noted in the preface to one of his sonata collections, "Sorry I am to instance the innumerable foreign overtures now pouring in upon us every season."[54]

Several early music societies formed in the eighteenth century that sought to counteract the modern trends. The foundation of these societies represents something new in music history: the development of a musical canon where old music was systematically studied, promoted, and performed. People were becoming consciously interested in preserving their musical past. Musical scholarship was in its infancy with the pioneering 1776 publications of histories of music by Sir John Hawkins and Charles Burney. William Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (1760-1778), and Samuel Arnold's *The works of Handel* (1787-1797) are further examples, as the first printed anthology of old music and the first collected edition of a single composer, respectively.[55]

Charles Burney observed, "there is perhaps, no country in Europe, where the productions of old masters are more effectually preserved from oblivion, than in England." [56] An early organization actively involved in this process was the Academy of Vocal Music, founded in 1726 by amateur musicians that focused on madrigals and sacred music of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Madrigal Society was a similar vocal club with origins in the beginning of the eighteenth

---

[53] Anonymous, *Euterpe; or Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music as a Part of Modern Education* (London: J. Dodsley 1778), 26.
[54] Charles Avison, *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord* (London: J. Walsh, 1764), 2.
[55] Peter Holman, "Samuel Wesley as an Antiquarian Composer." in *Music and the Wesleys,* Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield eds. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 196.
[56] Charles Burney, *An Account of the Musical Performances in Commemoration of Handel* (London: 1785), v.

century. The Academy of Vocal Music was renamed as the Academy of Ancient Music, which succeeded in bringing this music more into the public eye. The Academy of Ancient Music eventually shut down, but its cause was taken up by the Concert of Antient Music in 1776, which promoted music, in particular English music, no younger than twenty years old.

Ancient music tended to attract certain high-minded individuals from the English gentry, often with certain evangelistic, moralistic or loyalist leanings. A valuing of the good old music came to be equated with a valuing of traditional social values, in contrast with the shallow frivolities of the new. For example, ancient oratorios, like those of Handel, offered edification while modern opera had a reputation of moral looseness. The ancient music movement, therefore, became a force to reform not only music, but society as well.

Many who patronized ancient music events were also involved in the evangelical movement within the Anglican Church. Handel's *Messiah* and other oratorio series were regular fixtures in the charity hospitals—the Foundling and the Lock hospitals in particular—in which Methodists were very active. Several members in the early days of the Academy of Ancient Music were also active in the Georgia Society, a mission led by James Ogelthorpe to establish religious schools for Native and African Americans in the new British colony of Georgia.[57]

Ancient music carried with it loyalist political connotations as well. In 1784, the Concert of Antient Music put on the Handel Commemoration in honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the composer's death. The festival concerts at Westminster Abbey and the Pantheon utilized five hundred and twenty-five musicians, and attracted an audience of four thousand five-hundred, including the entire Royal family. The success of the Handel Commemoration was a big boost for early music, especially as King George III became a regular attendee in subsequent events put on by the Concert of Antient Music.

---

[57] William Weber, *The Rise of Musical Classics in 18th Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 71.

All of this came at a time of great political unrest with the American and French Revolutions, and national turmoil as England struggled to manage the troubles with her colonies in the New World. In the early 1780's during the first few seasons of the family concerts, George III withdrew the British ambassador in response to Spain's brewing alliance with American patriots and France. In a letter to John Langshaw, Charles Wesley writes about his worry of war in England. The concerts will go on in the winter, "if we live so long. Who knows what this summer may bring forth? The King gives us fair warning: but we have long had reason to fear." [58] Charles writes at a different time to Langshaw in 1781, this time expressing his anxieties about a draft.[59]

Among Wesley's countrymen, people were divided: some were loyal to the King while others were sympathetic to the Americans. The philosophical, moralistic, nationalistic, and conservative ideals of the ancient musickers brought them more generally in line with crown loyalty. This was a dilemma for the ancient music minded founders of Methodism. Charles and John had planted churches in the American colonies, and therefore, felt invested in the British-American conflict. While they were no doubt appalled by the military violence of the 1770 Boston massacre, they were also critical of the colonist's mass insurrection. After the Boston tea party of 1773 when demonstrators destroyed an entire shipment of tea rather than pay taxes on it, John Wesley wrote *A Calm Address to our American Colonies*. In it, he called on Americans to abandon their demands regarding taxation without representation[60] saying that calls for liberty are "a vain, empty profession: unless you mean by that threadbare word, a liberty from obeying your rightful Sovereign, and from keeping the fundamental laws of your country." [61]

---

[58] *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence,* 38.
[59] Ibid., 50.
[60] John Wesley, *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies* (London: R. Hawes, 1775), 5.
[61] Ibid., 23.

The war began in earnest in 1776 and was going badly for Britain when the Wesley family concerts began in 1779. In 1780, Charles Wesley wrote his collection of *Hymns Written in the Time of Tumults* expressing Methodist loyalty to the King.[62] The Wesleys' unending loyalty to the monarchy in the face of dissent brought them back into the good graces of the Anglican leadership. Many Methodists in America, however, apparently felt differently. Their numbers dwindled, and Methodist preachers by and large returned to Britain.[63] When the Treaty of Paris was signed in 1783 to recognize the United States formally as an independent nation, the remaining Methodists reorganized and soon moved to separate entirely from the Church of England and the Methodists in Great Britain.[64]

This was the context in which the Wesley family concerts took place. The aligning of a certain moral propriety, nationalistic political thought, and evangelical philosophy in a section of society that also extolled Ancient music, was an assuring factor for Charles Wesley in letting his children proceed not only with their concerts, but a calming force in training and sending his children into the professional music trade. Despite their advertisement of including "The most EXCELLENT [music], of a later Date," the programming for their concerts was, in practice, far more weighted toward music of the Ancient genre. Handel overtures, instrumental works by Corelli and Geminiani, Purcell songs, and the old-fashioned concerto grosso were most often featured. Modern music was, however, a popular attraction for the general public, and its absence from the advertisement would have been a conspicuous omission. Modern music was therefore played in the family concerts, but was arguably not cutting edge. Contemporary songs from the English theatre were sometimes programmed, but none from any new Italian operas, and the modern instrumental works presented were usually composed by friends or established colleagues of the Wesleys.

---

[62] Charles Wesley, *Hymns Written in the Time of Tumults* (Bristol: June 1780)
[63] Gary M. Best, *Charles Wesley: a Biography* (Werrington, England: Epworth, 2006), 291.
[64] Ibid., 304-305.

By carefully curating the family concerts with proper music and respectable colleagues under his own roof, Charles Wesley longed to keep Samuel out of harm's way, and to provide him safe and honorable opportunities in what he regarded as the dangerous world of music. Yet, for all his protection, Charles Wesley could not shelter his son from his own human nature.

Chapter 5: REBELLION

The 20th century Lebanese writer Kahlil Gibran, in his poem, *On Children*, wrote:

> "You may give them your love but not your thoughts,
> For they have their own thoughts.
> You may house their bodies but not their souls,
> For their souls dwell in the house of tomorrow." [1]

Samuel was independent, opinionated, and very strong-willed. He was in constant rebellion against his Father's authority, the Church's authority, and society's norms, much to the bewilderment and distress of his family.

The rebellion began to manifest itself strongly during the family concerts, which ran their course during Samuel's difficult teenage years, 1779-1787. Samuel was not quite thirteen when the concerts began, and was twenty-one by the time they finished. He had some familiar troubling adolescent behaviors—drinking too much and staying out all night. It was around this time as well that Samuel started dating Charlotte Louisa Martin, a woman several years his elder, with whom he eventually lived without being married. Charlotte's character was constantly in question, and the family intensely disapproved of the relationship. Charles Wesley, predictably in a poem, expressed his concern:

> "From drunken, riotous excess
> From vice, and open wickedness
> His giddy youth restrain,
> While flattery sooths, and pleasure smiles,
> And harlots spread their slighted toils,
> And glory courts in vain." [2]

Another source of tension during the family concerts was Samuel's conversion to the Roman Catholic Church. Shortly after moving to London, Samuel started attending services at the

---

[1] Kahlil Gibran, "On Children," *The Prophet* (New York: Knopf, 1923), 8.
[2] Charles Wesley, *Unpublished Poetry*, 1:305.

Catholic embassy chapels, most frequently, the Portuguese and Sardinian chapels. In Protestant England, Catholic services had for a time only been allowed at the embassies, as they were technically on foreign soil. The 1778 Papist Act gave Catholics some reprieve, but strong anti-Catholic sentiments permeated London, fueled in part by fears of a French invasion. Mob rioting erupted in the summer of 1780 protesting the Catholic relief laws and escalated to the point that the Wesleys considered fleeing to Wales until the situation calmed down.[3] Samuel's association with the Catholic Church therefore presented concerns not only for his spiritual wellbeing, but also for his physical safety.

Though he had a season of whole-hearted devotion, Samuel's attraction to the Catholic Church was not initially—or ultimately—an act of rebellion against his family's Methodist doctrines. Music was his doctrine, and the music of Roman Catholicism attracted him. The psalmody of the Anglican Church was dry and simplistic, and the "spartan tastes of Methodism provided no place or stimulation for his genius." [4] But at the Embassy Chapels, the older traditions of Gregorian music were kept alive with masses and other service music not to be found elsewhere in London. Along with the tremendous output of music composed for the family concerts in the 1780's, during this time, Samuel also composed a great deal of Latin music for the Catholic Church. Marking his conversion in 1784, Samuel wrote his large scale *Missa de Spiritu Sancto* which he dedicated and sent to Pope Pius VI by way of his local bishop.

Yet, Samuel didn't end up being a devout Catholic any more than he had ever been an earnest Methodist. Samuel simply wasn't a joiner, and the authority of the Pope soon held as little sway over his thought and action than had any other authority. "The crackers of the Vatican," wrote Samuel, "are no longer taken for the thunderbolts of heaven: for excommunication I care not three straws." [5]

---

[3] Letter, 8 June 1780. [MARC] DDCW/1/71
[4] Tyson, 350.
[5] Stevenson, 509.

Still, Samuel maintained a lifelong musical relationship with the Catholic chapels, writing to his friend Benjamin Jacob in 1808, "if the Roman Doctrines were like the Roman Music, we should have Heaven upon Earth." [6] He would go on to compose at least 25 motets and seven masses for Catholic services, and in later years served for a time as an assistant organist at the Portuguese Embassy Chapel to his close friend, Vincent Novello.

In the meantime, however, Samuel's Catholic conversion was a great scandal for the family. It was also an embarrassment for Methodists who later blamed Samuel's troubles on music and the handling of his prodigy that had had "an unhappy or rather injurious effect upon the mind of the young musician who wandered almost unrestrained through the scenes of flattery and temptation which encompassed him, till gradually he lost that … submission to paternal control, which is the most powerful safeguard to the heedless steps of unreflecting youth; and became tangled in the maze of error which eventually led him to cast aside the Protestant Faith." [7]

Charles Wesley was devastated by Samuel's conversion, writing in a 25 stanza verse, "I live for a lost son to grieve …" [8] He must have felt this tangled "maze of error" encroaching and questioned whether he should hold course and continue with his son's musical training. Prior to the 1784 season, Charles wrote "I am quite weary of our Concerts, and have a right to spend my last days in peace and quiet. It is not yet settled, whither we shall have a Concert this year or not." [9] The season did go on as planned, but by 1785, Samuel's behavior had worsened—with accusations of him hitting servants, in addition to his other teenage escapades. In parental desperation, Charles Wesley turned to the local Catholic bishop "with great sorrow of heart to

---

[6] Samuel Wesley, *The Bach Letters of Samuel Wesley,* ed. Eliza Wesley (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 36.
[7] Anonymous "Memoir of Samuel Wesley, the Musician," *The Wesley Banner and Revival Record, III* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1851): 321-328, quoted in John Schwartz, *The Orchestral Music of Samuel Wesley,* vol. 1 (dissertation, University of Maryland, 1971), 9.
[8] Arnold Dallimore, *A Heart Set Free: The Life of Charles Wesley* (Westchester: Crossway Books, 1988), 247.
[9] *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence*, 64.

complain of his son's irregular conduct" asking him to watch over Samuel's soul as he no longer held any influence over him.[10] In 1786, Uncle John Wesley wrote that he was "not sorry" to see the concerts "come to an end." [11] Although they ran for one more year, the decision was final in 1787. Charles Wesley designated the 1787 season in his Register of Concerts "The Ninth and Last Subscription Concert." [12]

[10] [MARC] DDWes/6/67
[11] Letter from John Wesley summarized in Michael Kassler and Philip Olleson, *Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): A Source Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001), 130.
[12] [MARC] DDCW 9/15

Chapter 6: WITHDRAWAL

When the ninth season came to a close in 1787, Samuel was a twenty-one-year-old adult. With the turmoil of his teenage years still unresolved, Samuel buried his father the following year. While Samuel's compositional output had exploded in the early 1780's, it all but dried up at the end of the decade. The first few seasons of concerts and his early notoriety may have carried with them the expectation that Samuel could be propelled from prodigy to fruitful career. Instead, at the final curtain of the family concerts, Samuel withdrew almost entirely from music; he stopped composing new works for the most part, and did not perform publicly for a period of about 10 years.

Objectively, Samuel's choice of direction in the music field was limited. With a system of court patronage no longer in central place in eighteenth-century England, the new economy was a gig economy. It was a freelancers' market, untrammeled by guild restrictions, monopolies, or state control. This open system was in stark contrast with many places on the Continent. For example, in order to start their series, the directors of the Concert Spirituel in Paris had to pay licensing fees to obtain a royal privilege that waived the performance monopoly held by the Paris Opera. In England on the other hand, concerts were completely unregulated, and this was a large factor in the meteoric growth of the public concert in that country. But while London musicians no longer answered to a particular patron, they lived or died by public opinion. When it was good, it was very good indeed, but there were no guarantees of stability or predictability of work, especially when a fickle public seemed most entranced by imported musicians. Successful London freelance musicians, therefore, had to be good at marketing themselves; they had to be reliable, and good at networking with the wealthier classes. They had to carry themselves well in social situations, maintain solid personal reputations, and know how to manage an ever-fluctuating income. Musicians had to plan, market, and perform their own concerts, but, even so,

musicians were rarely performers only. Almost all of them taught, many published music or books and pamphlets about music, others sold instruments. The prospect of keeping the lights on was as daunting then as it is for freelancers now.

This was doubly difficult for Samuel Wesley, whose "family and the evangelical culture, while encouraging him in music, had discouraged him in fitting himself for the social life that was, in that age, music's public context." [1] Samuel could have looked for a job as an organist in a church, but his Catholic conversion kept him out of Anglican positions as much as his Methodist roots had. When Samuel's bother Charles Jr. applied for a position at St. Paul's, he was told, "We want no Wesleys here!" as "under his 'volant touch,' the tones of the organ would imbue the worshippers with the spirit of Methodism." [2] Samuel certainly had the ability to work as a violinist, but he had given up playing the violin before the family concerts even came to a close. Samuel did hold a longtime teaching position at a girl's school that kept him financially solvent, but he regarded it as drudgery, writing to his mother that the "contemptible, frivolous Work of hammering Sounds into blockheads, which at last they never rightly comprehend, is an Avocation, which I cannot increase, without driving myself either into Madness or Ideotism." [3]

More critically, teaching was not the only area of music that Samuel found unsatisfying: simply put, he did not wish to be a musician. As early as 1784, midway through the family concerts and at the time of Handel's Commemoration, Samuel "was seized, from particular circumstances, with a nervous horror against music; it was a torment and pain to him." [4] Then in 1785, Samuel wrote to his father, wishing to be a scholar, but resigned to be a musician, "Music employs a *great deal of my Time* which I would gladly change for Study, and whatever you may

---

[1] Erik Routley, *The Musical Wesleys* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1968), 65.
[2] Jackson, *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley,* 689.
[3] Letter 21 April 1806 from Samuel Wesley to Sarah Gwynne Wesley quoted in "Samuel Wesley and the music profession by Philip Olleson," *Music and British Culture*, Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000) 30.
[4] Conversation with Samuel Wesley recalled in Thomas Green, "Diary of Thomas Green," *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1838, 9 (1838): 468.

think, I would willingly devote double my Time to the latter, but as I was born with a Trade not a Fortune in my hands it is necessary to make the most of it." [5] Following his father's death, Samuel's lack of ambition about his future in music is clear, writing to his mother in 1789, "I hate public life, I always did, and it was a cruel mistake in my education the forcing me into it; but it may have had one good consequence, that of making me very willing to quit a world which till I knew, I might have valued."[6]

Instead of launching into a career at a time when London's music scene was thriving, Samuel drifted. James Price, Samuel's scientist friend who had supplied him with gunpowder as a child, had committed suicide in 1783 and left Samuel his money, house, and several belongings. With no urgent financial need, Samuel could afford time to coast. Away from music he indulged his taste for the Classics, studied literature and made copious notes in his 10 volume collection of Shakespeare's plays.[7]

All the while, Samuel continued his relationship with Charlotte. Still unmarried, and much to the consternation of his family, he left home in 1792 and moved with Charlotte to the rural village of Ridge thirteen miles outside of London. In this departure from church, family, and social norms of the time, Samuel was highly influenced by his godfather, Martin Madan. In 1780, Madan had published his highly controversial *Thelyphthora, or A Treatise on Female Ruin*, in which he argued that true marriage did not depend on a legal ceremony, but was legitimized by sexual intercourse.[8] For Madan, who was the Chaplain of the Lock Hospital, which treated women with sexually transmitted diseases, this was a belief founded in compassion. He routinely encountered women who—either through a bad decision, or through no fault of their own—had marred reputations and faced a bleak future, without prospects of marriage or employment.

---

[5] Letter August 1785 from Samuel Wesley to Charles Wesley quoted in Olleson, "Father and Sons," 181.
[6] [BL] Add 31764, f. 28
[7] Lightwood,78.
[8] Martin Madan, *Thelyphthora, or A Treatise on Female Ruin*, (London, J. Dodsley, 1780) 48.

Madan argued for men to take equal responsibility for their own sexual behaviors; if a man had sex with a woman, he should be considered married to her, and thus responsible for her, and, if there was a pregnancy, her children as well. If a man had sex with more than one woman, then he should be considered married to each of them.[9] Madan's advocating of polygamy was too much for his critics to bear; their outrage resulted in Madan's swift removal from his position.

Samuel Wesley, however, sided with his godfather, arguing that "a true and essential marriage is the union of hearts and persons" and that the institution of marriage imposed by the church and state was no more than a "mere superfluity," a "means whereby property is secured," and way in which "confusion in genealogy is prevented." "I am no stickler for the morality of my godfather's polygamy," he writes, "although I am clearly convinced that he intended it as the lesser of two evils." [10]

Only when Charlotte became pregnant did Samuel decide to marry in order to save his children the stigma of illegitimacy. The private Anglican ceremony took place on April 5, 1793, and Samuel did not notify his family until well after the fact.

By the late 1790's, Samuel, perhaps spurred on by the financial need of his new family obligations, returned to music and became active again in the London music scene. His re-entry was made in fits and spurts. He attempted a second sort of family concert with his brother, Charles Jr. in 1802, engaging Robert Lindley, a well-established London cellist, Dragonetti, a famous bass virtuoso, and William Boyce's son in the effort. But the concert world was competitive, and, without prodigy status to attract the public, and having removed themselves from any supportive Methodist circles, the brothers' concerts failed. Samuel walked away from the experience with both financial losses and emotional ones. He wrote to his sister that he was so

---

[9] Madan, 74 ff.
[10] Letter from Samuel Wesley to Sally Wesley, quoted in Lightwood, 84

distressed that he could hardly get out of the bed in the morning, and often felt he should cancel his teaching engagements.[11]

It wasn't only his career. Almost as soon as he decided to marry, Samuel found himself extremely unhappy in the relationship. Writing to his friend James Kenton, Samuel called his wife, "diabolical, ungovernable, ferocious, ungrateful" and "incurable among Lunaticks." [12] By 1804, Samuel had plunged even further into gut-wrenching depression. He wrote to his mother, "Trouble and Anguish have long made me afraid of my own Thoughts and have prevailed against me to an Excess that render my Nights comfortless, and my Days dreadful and hateful beyond the Power of Words to express." [13] In 1806, he described himself as one "hating to live, & fearing to die." [14] Under the weight of financial troubles, and wishing for an easier life, Samuel lambasted his music career as "a degrading business to any man of spirit or abilities" and one in which "only impudent and ignorant wretches make any considerable emolument." "I have every day more and more cause to curse the day that ever my poor father suffered musick to be my profession," he wrote. "If I had now three or four hundred pounds at my command, I would not hesitate to purchase a large share in a gin shop." [15]

---

[11] Olleson, *Samuel Wesley,* 63.
[12] Letter 18 January 1797 Samuel Wesley to James Kenton, quoted in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, 57.
[13] Letter 27 August 1804 Samuel Wesley to Sarah Gwynne Wesley, quoted in Lightwood, 111.
[14] Letter 1 April 1806 Samuel Wesley to Sarah Gwynne Wesley, quoted in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, 68.
[15] Letter April 1806 Samuel Wesley to Sarah Gwynne Wesley, quoted in Lightwood, 113.

Chapter 7: DISCOVERY OF BACH

By 1808, the darkness of spirit somewhat abated, buoyed by a newfound enthusiasm for the music of J.S. Bach. Perhaps as a distraction from his volatile marriage to Charlotte that he described as a "Sacrifice of Peace, Liberty, Honor, & Independence," [16] Samuel poured all of his energy into learning and promoting the music of Bach. The Bach impetus allowed him to forge ahead, enjoying the most active period of his musical life, aside from the productive years of the family concerts. He established a reputation as an inspired organist—mostly due to his extraordinary abilities for improvisation. He gave numerous recitals and was hired as the regular organist of the Covent Garden oratorio concerts, where he also had the opportunity to play his own organ concertos. Samuel became a music director at summer music festivals, and in 1815 was named a director of the newly founded Philharmonic Society for the promotion of instrumental music. He was invited to give a series of lectures on music for the Royal Institution, and also contributed a review column to *European Magazine*.

However Samuel Wesley's greatest contribution from this period was his enthusiastic Bach crusade, which placed him squarely in the center of the English antiquarian movement to establish a musical canon. Samuel's efforts are chronicled in a series of twenty-four letters with a fellow Bach devotee, Benjamin Jacob.[17] Just as his father and uncle had been zealous Methodist missionaries, Samuel became a Bach missionary with a similar evangelistic fervor. Throughout his correspondence, Samuel refers to Bach variously as "Saint Sebastian," "our Apollo," "our Orpheus," "our Demi-God," "our immortal Master," or quite simply, "the Man." In Letter 11, Samuel writes to Jacob concerning the formation of a society that would advance the "Cause of Truth and Perfection" of Bach whom he calls, "the great Musical High Priest." Samuel continues by drawing parallels with the Protestant Reformation initiated by Martin Luther who "managed in

---

[16] Letter 21 March 1807 Samuel Wesley to Charles Jr., quoted in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, 76.
[17] Samuel Wesley, *Bach Letters,* 29.

a very short Time to shake the whole Fabric of Ignorance and Superstition … It is high Time that some Amendment should take place in the Republic of Musick, and I know of no engine equally powerful with the immortal and adamantine Pillars of Sebastian's Harmony." [18]

Among those in Samuel Wesley's circle who joined him in leading the charge were George Frederic Pinto, a violin student of Salomon; Johann Baptist Cramer, son of Samuel's violin teacher; William Crotch, Samuel's childhood prodigy friend; Vincent Novello, Samuel's close friend and associate at the Portuguese Embassy Chapel; C.F. Horn, with whom Samuel would partner in publishing Bach's music; and Benjamin Jacob—organist at Surrey Chapel and recipient of Samuel's Bach letters. These Samuel cheekily dubbed "the Sebastian Squad."[19]

Charles Burney could also be counted among the English Bach converts. Burney had first met Samuel in 1779, the first year of the family concerts, but in 1808 Samuel re-established contact when he confronted Burney about his Bach prejudice. In his *General History*, Burney had said that "Sebastian Bach ... disdained facility so much, that his genius never stooped to the easy and graceful. I never have seen a Fugue by this learned and powerful author upon a motivo, that is natural and chantant; or even an easy and obvious passage, that is not loaded with crude and difficult accompaniments." [20]

In 1808, Samuel requested an audience with Burney hoping to change his mind, and Burney gladly accepted the offer, for despite his assessment, he had never actually heard any of Bach's music played![21] After their meeting Samuel proudly reported to Benjamin Jacob of Burney's "Repentance." [22]

---

[18] Ibid., 30.
[19] Ibid., 85.
[20] Charles Burney and Frank Mercer, *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789)*, vol. 2 (New York: Dover, 1957) 96.
[21] Letter April 12 1808 Charles Burney to Samuel Wesley summarized in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley*, 73.
[22] Samuel Wesley, *Bach Letters,* 32.

Samuel was sure that in order to convince others—who variously preferred Handel, or modern music—of Bach's superiority, they, like Burney, needed only to have the opportunity to hear Bach's music. Samuel organized numerous concerts in which he programmed Bach's 48 Preludes and Fugues of the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, the *Organ Trio Sonatas*, the *Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord*, the *Sonatas and Partitas for Solo Violin*, and some of the only vocal music to date heard in England by Bach, the motet, *Jesu meine Freude*.

Bach brought Samuel back to the violin, almost by necessity. Of the Sebastian Squad, Samuel promoted Bach's music in performance most regularly with Benjamin Jacob and Vincent Novello, neither of whom had ever been accomplished violinists. The onus fell on Samuel. After a long hiatus, he returned to the violin to play several of the *Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord*, with Jacob or Novello at the organ. "He was possessed with one idea—that here was extraordinary music, requiring to be interpreted, and that he was the man to do it." [23] It is unlikely that Samuel tackled the *Sonatas and Partitas for Solo Violin* in performance—he submitted that challenge to his friend, George Bridgetower,[24] who accepted on at least one occasion.[25] Samuel did however devote a portion of one of his lectures to the solo violin works. "Sebastian Bach, whose Brain was a Cyclopedia of Harmony, composed six admirable Solos for the Violin … the great Curiosity and Ingenuity of the Work is chiefly shown by such an artful and masterly Management of the Harmony throughout, that no Bass part becomes at all necessary: this marvelous Author has so distributed the interstitial intervals constituting the Chords, that in most Places the Harmony produces an Effect nearly as full as that of a Quartetto. It must be allowed that these Pieces are of arduous Execution, but to a violinist they are a precious Treasure, and their Attainment will amply reward the previous necessary Labour to acquire them." [26]

---

[23] Edward Holmes, "Our Musical Spring." *Fraser's Magazine* 43 (1851): 591.
[24] Bridgetower gave the first performance of Beethoven's *Kreutzer Sonata* in 1803. He studied with Giornovicchi.
[25] Lightwood, 134.
[26] BL ADD 35014, 35

Samuel's initial focus however, was on the promulgation of Bach's keyboard music. With Horn, he published the Organ Trios in 1809-1810, noting in the prefatory material that they "need only publicity to secure admiration" as they are "some of the choicest fruits of learning and taste that were ever gathered from the Tree of Harmony." [27] An edition of the *Well-Tempered Clavier* followed in four installments, the last of which was in 1813. Samuel had plans to publish an edition of the "Credo" from the *Mass in B Minor*, but the venture fell through.

The Wesley-Horn edition of the Organ Trios was strategically adapted for two players on the fortepiano, thereby capitalizing on a ready and popular market. It also addressed a bigger obstacle to Bach's music, that is, the English organ. German organs had two to four keyboards, plus a pedal-board; in England on the other hand, organs rarely had pedal-boards. One reason for the more primitive organ in England hearkens back to the Puritan removal of organs from churches—organs that eventually found new homes in tavern music rooms. In any case, the English organ during Samuel Wesley's time rendered Bach's music all but unplayable, at least, not without adaptation. Like the Organ Trios, Samuel generally performed the *Well-Tempered Clavier,* 'the 48,' as duets on one organ with either Benjamin Jacob or Vincent Novello on the second manual.

Performing Bach's music on the organ also presented performance difficulties in terms of tuning and temperament, most notably in the 'the 48' which employs all 24 major and minor keys. Mean-tone types of temperaments that favored key signatures of up to three sharps and flats were still the most widely used in England, and equal temperament had only gained shaky footing. Split keys that offered an organist a choice of enharmonic pitch had been tried, but players generally found them too cumbersome. Inspired by 'the 48,' Samuel used his lectures at the Royal Institution to champion a new system, the Hawkes mechanism, that, instead of split

---

[27] Preface reprinted in S. S. Wesley and F. G. E., "Bach's Music in England." *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 37 (1896), 653.

keys, offered an alternative set of pipes for each black note that a player could engage with a pedal depending on the key signature of the piece which was to be played.[28] The system, however, never took hold, and Samuel was criticized for using his lectures for commercial display.

[28] Peter Williams, "Equal Temperament and the English Organ, 1675-1825." *Acta Musicologica* 40 (1968): 63.

Chapter 8: CONTINUING STRUGGLES

Despite his busyness and elation with Bach and the new focus it gave his career, Samuel's relationships at home were still tumultuous. In February of 1810, Samuel recorded, "I have been a dupe and a slave too long to the most unworthy of women," [1] and subsequently the forty-three-year-old Samuel left his wife Charlotte for his sixteen-year-old housekeeper, Sarah Suter. Eight months later, Sarah gave birth to Samuel Sebastian Wesley, whose middle name was homage to the great composer who now consumed his father's thoughts.

Although he remained with Sarah until his death, divorce was expensive and complicated, so Samuel and Charlotte stayed technically married with financial agreements of separation. Samuel had seven surviving children with Sarah (all of whom were labeled illegitimate), in addition to the three from his marriage to Charlotte. The strain of supporting two households on the fundamentally insecure income of an unpatronized eighteenth century musician proved too much to bear. Samuel collapsed in the autumn of 1816 on his way to play concerts in Norwich. He recovered, but losing the income from the Norwich engagements, from his magazine, which he had to discontinue, and from missed teaching, left Samuel in a worse state than before. In February of 1817, he collapsed again, and in May his condition had worsened so much that he went to stay with his mother, who hired a caretaker to attend to his needs. Even under supervision, Samuel was overcome with delusions that he was being chased by creditors, and jumped out of a window. He was seriously injured, and accounts from Sarah Wesley reveal that he was not expected to survive.[2] Samuel did survive, however, and when he had sufficiently recovered physically in July, was sent to a private lunatic asylum called Blacklands House, where he stayed against his will for nearly a year.

---

[1] Letter February 1810 Samuel Wesley to Sarah Gwynne Wesley, quoted in Lightwood, 87.
[2] Letter c. May 12, 1817 Sarah Wesley to Wilberforce, summarized in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley* 150.

Samuel Wesley suffered, and he suffered deeply during a time when mental illness was not recognized or treated as it is today. Add to this alcohol, in which Samuel was known to overindulge, and his condition worsened. Greene—one of Samuel's acquaintances—recalled a social gathering in which Samuel "drained all the bottles; and it required much management in getting rid of him."[3] Hindsight and armchair diagnoses are never entirely possible, but Samuel's swinging from extreme highs and periods of manic compositional creativity to paralyzing lows that kept him from composing at all, support a theory that he suffered from bi-polar disorder. Some early biographers connect Samuel's mental illness to a 1787 accident that—according to his obituary—occurred late one evening as Samuel was on his way home. He allegedly fell into an excavation at a construction site where he spent the night, not being discovered until the next day. He had sustained a head injury, and the attending doctor ordered trepanning—which involved drilling a hole in the skull—to reduce the swelling. Samuel refused the procedure. The anonymous writer of the obituary cites the fall as the source of his ensuing attacks of depression.[4] Since this is the only mention of the accident in the numerous contemporary accounts of his life, there is some question to as to its veracity.[5] That the fall occurred is plausible, but that it was the root of Samuel's troubles is uncertain. Certainly, an explanation for the onset of any illness is often sought; however, recent authors are more of the opinion that his illness was far more deep-seated,[6] and that, at any rate, it had already manifested itself during the rebellious teenage years.[7]

When Samuel returned home after his stay at Blacklands House, he had to start over. During the course of his illness, most of his work as a freelancer had evaporated or been filled by other able musicians. In 1819, Samuel wrote to Novello, hoping he could give him any sort of

---

[3] Green, 468.
[4] Anonymous, "Death of Mr. Samuel Wesley." *The London Times* 12 October 1837.
[5] This topic handled in detail in Philip Olleson, "The obituary of Samuel Wesley." *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies,* 1 (1999): 121-133.
[6] Routley, 69.
[7] Philip Olleson, "The Wesleys at Home: Charles Wesley and His Children," *Methodist History*, 36 (1998): 146.

work, if only as a mere copyist.[8] Finally, in 1824, at the age of fifty-eight, Samuel was appointed to the first permanent organ position of his career at Camden Chapel.

During the 1820s Samuel also reconnected with the Methodist community. While studying the Fitzwilliam manuscript, bequeathed to the University of Cambridge in 1816, Samuel happened on some pages in which Handel had set three of his father's hymns: *Sinners, obey the Gospel-word; O Love Divine, how sweet Thou art;* and *Rejoice! The Lord is King*.[9] Hoping to capitalize monetarily, he presented the works to the Methodist society for publication. The sales of the Handel hymns turned a reasonable profit for Samuel, who followed it up with a publication of his own successful settings of Methodist hymns.

In 1829, another depression loomed, and Samuel once again started to regret his life in music. "My mind is not that of a mere Musician: I have (from a Boy) been a Lover of more of the Alphabet than the seven incipient English Letters … My trade is Music, I confess: & would to Heaven it had only been destined for mine Amusement, which would certainly have been the Case, had I availed myself of the Advantages which were offered me in Juvenescence, of rendering myself eligible for any one of the learned Professions; but it was (it seems) otherwise ordained; & I was to attend only to the Cultivation of one Talent, which unluckily cost me no Trouble to do: had there been any up-Hill Work for me in Music, I should soon enough have sacrificed it altogether." [10] By 1830, the illness hit in full force; Samuel suffered from convulsions, and his brother reported that he had to be strapped down.[11] After Samuel's property was seized on account of his unpaid bills, some of his lifelong friends, among them Novello, tried to raise money to help with his expenses. Samuel again recovered, but never actively resumed his

---

[8] Lightwood, 186.
[9] Lightwood, 196.
[10] Letter 7 March 1829 Samuel Wesley to an unidentified recipient, quoted in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley,* 32.
[11] Ibid., 211.

career, managing to survive financially on the income from the sale of his hymns, and, in his last years, with a monthly annuity from the Methodist society.

Chapter 9: CURTAIN CALL

In the warmer months of 1837, Samuel felt much recovered. In May, Norwegian violinist Ole Bull visited London for the first time and played music with Samuel at home. Samuel had lent many of his violin scores to friends, but that month asked for their return, as "Mr. Ole Bull is coming in a day or two to try some of them over. The old man and the fiery youth!"[1]

Samuel's last public performance was in September of 1837. Felix Mendelssohn was in town to give a recital at Christ Church on Newgate Street, and Samuel was in the audience. The two composers had in common a deep appreciation of J. S. Bach, and at the close of his recital, Mendelssohn invited Samuel to play. Of the occasion, Mendelssohn recorded in his diary, "Old Wesley, trembling and bent … improvised with great artistry and splendid facility, so that I could not but admire." [2] A month later, Samuel Wesley died.

"Don't ever go into music!" This sage advice has produced many (musically gifted) architects, doctors, and lawyers. Music was, and can still be, a very insecure profession. If Samuel Wesley could have done anything else in life, he would have. Yet, like a moth to the flame, he found himself unable to stay away. Even so, had it not been for over-protective parents and their uneasy mixed messages about the profession, or the inherent pressures of being the son of Methodism, or a lifelong struggle with mental illness, or had he been born to a wealthier family, Samuel Wesley might have made more of his career than he did. His early prodigy as both an organist and a violinist peaked with the family concerts, and later during his Bach period, but the arc of his career was uneven and often interrupted.

Writing after his death, Vincent Novello's wife Mary remembered Samuel as a "Pious Catholic, raving atheist, mad, reasonable, drunk and sober—the dread of all wives and regular

---

[1] Letter 14 May 1837 Samuel Wesley to Fred Davison quoted in Lightwood, 226.
[2] Peter Ward Jones, ed. *The Mendelssohns on Honeymoon: the 1837 diary of Felix and Cécile Mendelssohn Bartholdy together with letters to their families* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 103.

families, a warm friend, a bitter foe, a satirical talker, a flatterer at times of those he cynically traduced at others—a blasphemer at times, a puleing Methodist at others."[3] Vincent remembered his colleague more compassionately. "Justice to the musical powers and genius of our poor friend was neither done during his lifetime nor has been since his death; and I am sorely afraid never will be. He really seems to have been pursued by what, for want of a better word, is called fatality, or an inexplicable web … of circumstances which crushed him living and still stands in the way of either himself or his works being duly appreciated." [4] The anonymous writer of Samuel Wesley's obituary was more hopeful. "It is the prerogative of genius to look forward with a calm but assured expectation that posterity will award that meed of approval which must ever attend its bright and beautiful creations." [5]

---

[3] Letter c. 1841 Mary Sabilla Novello to Henry Phillips quoted in Olleson, *Samuel Wesley,* xi.
[4] Letter 17 September 1849 William Kingston to Vincent Novello in "Samuel Wesley Autography Music, Presented by V. Novello," BL ADD MS 17731, f. 37., quoted in Schwartz, 2.
[5] Anonymous, "Death of Mr. Samuel Wesley," *The London Times* 12 October 1837.

Chapter 10: THE VIOLIN CONCERTO IN ENGLAND

Concerto performance was at a peak in late eighteenth century England when Samuel Wesley composed his violin concertos for the family concerts. This was driven by a public appetite for modern music, and the rise of the virtuoso performer—often from abroad. Musicians responded to an audience taste for showmanship, and took the opportunity to flaunt their ability on the instrument with fast passagework and extended techniques such as double stops and high positions. Virtuosity for virtuosity's sake however did have its detractors. Lecturer Richard Stevens lamented "the revolution … in the musical taste of the public." "I must fear, that … we shall in time lose the elegance and Expression, which have so often charmed us, in a cantabile song; and that exquisite delight which the *adagio* movement of an Abel or a *Barthelemon* has inspired will be unknown to us." [1] Temperance rewarded the most successful concerto performers who sought to balance virtuosity with expression. Cramer and Giardini, of the generation just prior to Samuel Wesley were held in high regard for their ability to temper technical brilliance with good taste. Holdovers from the Baroque era, like the violin solo (the British term in use at the time for a violin sonata with continuo) and the concerto grosso, were overtaken by the novelty of the expanding solo concerto. However, the older forms were still championed at the various ancient music concerts, and formed a very large part of the Wesley family concert repertoire.

The more technically challenging violinistic elements of the solo concerto put the genre out of reach for most amateur players. Whereas Baroque concerti grossi were widely published and consumed by a variety of musicians both professional and amateur, Classical concertos, especially in England were not routinely published. The technical difficulties of the works jeopardized a public market for their printing. If violin concertos were published, they were often transcribed for fortepiano, as that instrument was very much in vogue, and music composed for it

---

[1] Guildhall Library Gresham Music MS 472, quoted in Milligan, 27.

was highly marketable. Violin concertos could therefore sometimes be found rewritten as piano solos with a much simplified violin accompaniment.[2]

From the Classical era, many modern day violinists learn a few of the later Mozart violin concertos, maybe one of the Haydn concertos, and possibly an early Viotti concerto. The scarcity of published concertos can give the impression that Classical violin concertos were few and far between. This, however, was not the case: far more were written than published, or even preserved.

The advertised leader of a concert was usually a violinist, and a concerto was a personally identifying signature that he would have been expected to produce as his own show piece in the concert. Violinists would often repeat their concerto multiple times within a season, and sometimes over several concert seasons. Concertos were almost always written by a composer for that composers' sole use: only on rare occasions would a violinist play a modern solo concerto written by another composer. Beethoven actually lamented this state of affairs that was not isolated only to England. "You will hear nothing of me here [in Vienna] … My concertos? Everyone grinds out only the stuff he himself has made." [3] Child prodigies were exceptions to this rule, as technical ability was more easily developed than compositional maturity. From the Record of Concerts, Samuel Wesley is known to have performed concertos by many leading players of his day. In his *Reminiscences*, he recalls, "As I was really an adept on the Violin, I found no great Difficult in mastering the Compositions of the fashionable Violinists of the Day such as Giardini, Cramer, Borghi, Giornovichi, & c. and my own Solos and Concertos contained many passages of as showy and brilliant Execution as any of those popular Authors." [4] The

---

[2] Milligan, 34.
[3] Alexander Thayer, *Thayer's life of Beethoven,* vol. 2, Elliot Forbes ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 801.
[4] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences,* 104.

concertos that contain these showy and brilliant passages are held in manuscript at the British Library.[5]

[5] BL Add 35008 and BL Add 35009.

Chapter 11: DATING THE CONCERTOS

Dating and ordering the Samuel Wesley concertos is problematic. Charles Wesley never recorded dates or titles or keys of the concertos that Samuel played on the family concerts, making it possible only to garner clues to the dating even from so rich a source as the Register of Concerts.

Five of Samuel Wesley's manuscripts are dated between December 1779 and March 1785; one is dated February 24 but the year is missing; and the remaining concerto has no date indicated at all. The concertos with known composition dates and in order are: Concerto in C—November or December 1779; Concerto in D—April 10, 1781; Concerto in B-flat—September 1782; Concerto in G—December 1783; Concerto in B-flat—April 4, 1785; The remaining two concertos are Concerto in A—February 24, no year; Concerto in E-flat—not dated.

The season for the Wesley Family Concerts ran from January or February each year through April and sometimes early May. The Register of Concerts indicates that in Season 1 (1779), Samuel played one of his own concertos on February 25th. He could not have played the Concerto in C on this occasion, as it would not have been finished until the coming November. Therefore, the concerto played at this concert may have been the Concerto in A, dated only February 24.

In Season 2 (1780), Samuel played his own concertos on two consecutive family concerts on February 17 and March 2. The possible concertos for performance at these concerts would have been either of the two undated ones or the Concerto in C, dated November 13, 1779. This newly composed Concerto in C, completed just a few months prior to the season opening, seems the most likely candidate for these Season 2 concerts. Samuel could have repeated the Concerto in A from the previous season, but given the amount of repertoire the fourteen-year-old was both practicing and composing for the concerts that occurred within two weeks of one another, it

seems more likely that Samuel would have prepared only one concerto and repeated it. The undated E-flat concerto is the only other possibility for the Season 2 concerts. However, it is compositionally and technically more advanced than either his 1779 Concerto in C or the Concerto in A, so it seems unlikely that it would yet have been composed.

In Season 3 (1781), Samuel played his own concertos on March 8, March 22, and April 26. His Concerto in D is dated April 10 of that year, so Samuel likely played that newly completed work on the April 26th concert. However the two March concerts leave some questions unanswered. It is possible that Samuel performed the Concerto in D as a work-in-progress on March 8 and 22, or else he could have revisited his earlier Concerto in C or possibly the Concerto in A.

The undated Concerto in E-flat may belong to Season 4 (1782). Samuel devoted himself to the violin concerto during this season performing concertos by Giardini, Cramer, and Giornovichi. He also composed his Sinfonia Obbligato in 1782. His immersion in other violin concertos of other composers indicates an interest in studying the form more closely.

Samuel finished his Concerto in B-flat in September 1782, and would have had to wait until season 5 (1783) to perform it on the family concerts. He played a concerto on the opening night of Season 5, January 23, and it would presumably have been the Concerto in B-flat. Other performances that included his own violin concertos that season were the consecutive concerts of February 6 and February 20. Later in the season, he again performed concertos by Giornovichi and Giardini.

Samuel's Concerto in G was completed December 1783, just prior to the opening of Season 6 (1784). He performed concertos four times that season, and although Charles Wesley omits the composer's name in the Register of Concerts, these were probably performances of Samuel's Concerto in G.

The composer's name is also left off the records in Season 7 (1785), but Samuel is listed as having performed concertos on February 3, March 17, April 14, and April 28. His other

Concerto in B flat is dated April 4, 1785, and was likely the one played on the April 28 concert. It could very well have been performed at the earlier concerts that season, again as a work-in-progress, or else Samuel could have revisited any of his other concertos from previous seasons.

The family concerts continued in 1786 and 1787, but without Samuel on the violin. He had given up the violin at nineteen, when his interest in playing waned. Not only did he abstain from performing concertos, but he no longer played in the orchestra during the remaining family concerts either, choosing instead to focus on the organ. Working from the theory, then, that Samuel composed a concerto for each of the Wesley family concerts until the final two seasons, one numbering of the concertos could be as follows: Concerto No. 1 in A, Concerto No. 2 in C, Concerto No. 3 in D, Concerto No. 4 in E flat, Concerto No. 5 in B flat, Concerto No. 6 in G, Concerto No. 7 in B flat.

Chapter 12: Performance Practice and Interpreting the Manuscript

There are some clues about the violin and bow with which Samuel performed. We know that his favorite violin was a Cremonese instrument that he left in a Hackney cab and lost just prior to the 1784 season.[1] After the time of the family concerts, Samuel also mentions his "tender Stainer" which he used during the years that he championed Bach.[2]

Bow making was very much in transition during the time of Samuel Wesley's concertos. The Baroque bow was never standardized, and bow design continued to evolve until the Francois Tourte's model became standard equipment in the nineteenth century. Bows that are no longer Baroque-style but not yet of Tourte's design are referred to as "transitional." One popular transitional bow was the Cramer model, so named after Wilhelm Cramer, a Mannheim violinist, who after spending some time in Paris, settled in London. He was concertmaster for Bach and Abel in their concerts, and he was also Samuel Wesley's violin teacher.

Cramer's bow was generally longer than most baroque bows, and was one of the first to have a stick with a concave camber. The Cramer transitional bow had a taller and heavier head than Baroque bows, which were by contrast, typically made with straight sticks and swanbill tips. In comparison with the Tourte bow, Cramer's had less and looser hair, thus producing a softer initial articulation. With his bow, Cramer would have produced equally sustained sounds at the frog and tip with greater ease than a Baroque bow, which, by virtue of its design, naturally produces tapered sounds. Cramer's bow also more readily facilitated the off-the-string bowing for

---

[1] Philip Olleson, *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
[2] Samuel Wesley, *Bach Letters,* 38.

which he became known. Contemporaries described the round sound of Cramer's staccato-playing in long sections of rapid passagework as pleasing and beautiful.[3]

Woldermar's 1798 *Méthode pour le violon* indicates that Cramer's bow had during his time been adopted by professionals and amateurs alike.[4] Samuel Wesley took lessons with Wilhelm Cramer and also studied, copied, and performed Cramer's concertos. The general popularity of Cramer's bow along with Samuel's close association with its namesake gives good reason to believe that the Cramer model was the type of bow that Samuel Wesley used when performing his concertos.

Charles Wesley's Register of Concerts, for all but two seasons, meticulously lists all the performers who appeared on the family concerts with his sons. The ensemble was generally small: four violins including Samuel as concertmaster and soloist, one viola, one cello, and two horns, with Charles Jr. at the keyboard. No sixteen-foot bass instrument was ever employed during the concerts. Almost all of Samuel's concertos are scored for this combination—one calls for a pair of oboes, but there is no indication in the Register of Concerts that any oboists were ever hired. The violin Concerto in C is the only one of the set that does not use two horns. Assuming that it was indeed the Concerto in C performed February 17 and March 2, 1780 as part of the second season, Samuel's orchestra included the standard combination of strings, with the exception of an extra violist on February 17. Although separate parts for cello and contrabass are scored in the Concerto in C, a bass player was not hired for these concerts, and the designation does not appear in subsequent concertos.

The question of whether or not keyboard should play during Classical concertos and symphonies is well debated. In the case of the Concerto in C, figures are liberally supplied in the first movement, but hardly at all in the second or third movements. This proves nothing one way

---

[3] Milligan, 119.
[4] David Boyden, "The Violin Bow in the Eighteenth Century." *Early Music*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Keyboard Issue 2, (Apr., 1980): 208.

or the other, however. The string parts fully express the harmony throughout, but given the size of the orchestra, organ would have added fullness to the sound of ensemble, especially during tutti sections. In his *Reminiscences* Samuel recalls hearing Haydn play fortepiano during performances of the London Symphonies.[5] A 1778 concerto by Wilhelm Cramer copied in Samuel's own hand is preserved in the Wesley manuscript collection that Samuel likely used for his own study and performance. The Cramer concerto calls specifically for organ, but, interestingly, only in the tutti sections.

It seems likely that organ was a part of the ensemble in the 1780 performance of the Concerto in C. Whether or not it was played during solo passages is another question, although the instances when this question arises are fewer than expected. Samuel often reduces the orchestra in the solo episodes giving the accompaniment to violins and violas alone, or else indicating violoncello solo. It is possible, though, that the organ was used to stand in for a contrabass part since no bass player was hired for the concerts—continuo figures generally appear under the contrabass line in the score, but are occasionally moved to the cello line when no contrabass part is indicated.

Another possibility is that the continuo figures were simply analytical, or for reference during composition and rehearsal. However, given the two organs in use in the family concert room, and given reports of Charles Jr.'s regular place at the organ during many of the other pieces on the programs, it seems likely that the instrument was used, if for no other reason than to keep the ensemble together. The disappearance of figures from the concertos in later seasons could be evidence both of Samuel's growing ability as a composer and of Charles Jr.'s as a continuo player. Samuel may no longer have required figures as a mnemonic device during composition, and Charles Jr., reading from a full score, could also do without them.

---

[5] Samuel Wesley, *Reminiscences*, 75.

Equal temperament had not yet been fully adopted in England, and many experimental organs were developed to try and resolve the problems of where to place the comma in an unequally divided scale. Samuel's later championing of the Hawkes organ is one example. However, the organs in the Wesley home used for the family concerts were probably standard eighteenth-century English chamber organs tuned in some kind of mean-tone system. None of Samuel's concertos go beyond a few flats or a few sharps, so a mean-tone system of tuning would still work well. Furthermore, in the Concerto in C, Samuel reserves most remote key movement for the solo sections where there are no figures, suggesting the possibility that in those sections a keyboard would not be used.

Both Charles Jr. and Samuel Wesley were master improvisers, and extemporaneous organ pieces were a feature of all the concerts to great acclaim. Samuel's ability as an improviser was a lifelong mark of his career. The writer of Samuel's obituary reported, "his resources were boundless, and if called upon to extemporize for half-a-dozen times during the evening, each fantasia was new, fresh, and perfectly unlike the others." [6] There are no reports of his skill at improvising on the violin. Still, the cadenza was a favorite feature for audiences, and an expected part of a concerto performance. Cadenzas in these concertos certainly seem plausible given the custom of the time, and Samuel's distinguished ability in extemporaneous playing.

As eighteenth-century English Classical violin concertos tended to be written for a composer's own use, notation was often less detailed and less consistent than in compositions intended for publication. Samuel Wesley prepared the scores of his Concerto in C for specific performance in the family concerts, never with an eye for publication. He composed this piece at the age of thirteen, and there is evidence throughout that he was still struggling and experimenting with various challenges of notation. While some of his markings are clear, others are vague and leave room for interpretation. However, the manuscripts are the actual performance

---

[6] Anonymous, "Death of Mr. Samuel Wesley." *The London Times* 12 October 1837.

parts that Samuel Wesley and his orchestra used, so despite the inconsistencies, most problematic notations have logical and practical solutions.

Typically, Samuel's scores are less complete than his parts. As the parts were what players rehearsed and performed from, they provide more information about dynamics, expression and articulation than the score. Charles Jr. would have played continuo from the score, but certain articulations and other indications relevant to string players would not be important enough for a continuo player to have copied down.

The surviving manuscript for the Concerto in C includes a complete score, a complete solo violin part and a part labeled violoncello. The title on the autograph is *Concerto Violino in C 1779* with the key and date added in different handwriting. However, Samuel Wesley signed and dated the last page of the score, November 13, 1779. The score is legible throughout, including for the most part, figured bass.

The solo violin part contains valuable performance indications not included in the score, and vice versa. The cello part does not always line up with the score, and contains a full page that is crossed out. In contrast with the solo violin part, the surviving cello part contains no expression or technical marks not already found in the score. It appears at one point that Samuel may have intended there to be an obbligato cello in the piece, but later changed his mind. The middle movement of the cello part contains completely different music than that found in the score, however this movement is summarily crossed through, and "out" is written at the top of the page.

Samuel Wesley's Concerto in C has three movements, Allegro, Aria, and Rondeaux. On the title page of the Aria, Samuel Wesley writes "When Wars Alarmed" a misspelled reference to the song on which the movement is based. The use of folk or popular music in concertos was not unusual for the time.

"When Wars Alarms" is from the short, satirical play, *The Camp*, for which Thomas Linley wrote the music. *The Camp* satirizes British preparations during the American Revolutionary War and premiered at Drury lane in October of 1778. Earlier in 1778, France had

entered into an alliance with the Americans, and British citizens were on high alert, fearful of an invasion. The Camp was performed 57 times between 1778 and 1779, making it the most produced dramatic piece in all of London for that season.[7]

"When Wars Alarms" tells of two lovers separated by war. It is interesting to note that both Samuel's reference to the song title, and the tune in his concerto departs from Linley's original version. Samuel likely transcribed the piece by ear, perhaps after hearing it sung by Ms. Walpole, the heroine of the play, during the 1778-1779 season. At this very time, Samuel would have been composing his Concerto in C, finished in November of 1779.

Organ is indicated specifically only once in the entire concerto, during a few measures of a pedal tone. "Flauto" is marked in the score at this moment, probably indicating both a flute stop on the organ, and an homage to the shrill military fife for which Linley composed elsewhere in his score. "When Wars Alarms" became a standard tune for flute, reprinted in multiple collections into the 19th century.[8]

The designation of instruments on the first page of the score is Violino Principale, ~~VV~~ indicating first and second violins in unison, Viola, Violonc. (violoncello), and contrab. (contrabasso). Organo is listed specifically in the second movement to provide a pedal tone. These designations sometimes change mid-score. Violino Principale sometimes becomes simply Solo. In the third movement, Viola becomes Violetti in one system, and in the next, Alto Viola. Similarly, in one system, the Violoncello is suddenly labeled Bass; Contrabass remains in the staff below. These inconsistencies are puzzling but seem to have no bearing on performance.

---

[7] Ennis, Daniel J. and Slagle, Judith Bailey. *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers and Afterpieces. Rosemont Publishing* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007), 217.
[8] See Tacet, Joseph. *New Instructions for the German Flute* (London, S.A. Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1780); *When War's Alarms, a Favorite Song ... for the Piano Forte or Flute* (London, R. Major, c. 1820); *When War's Alarms, a favorite ballad*, arr. for German flute (London: Printed for G. Walker, c. 1810);

Since the Register of Concerts clearly shows who played what, I have normalized instrumental designations in this score.

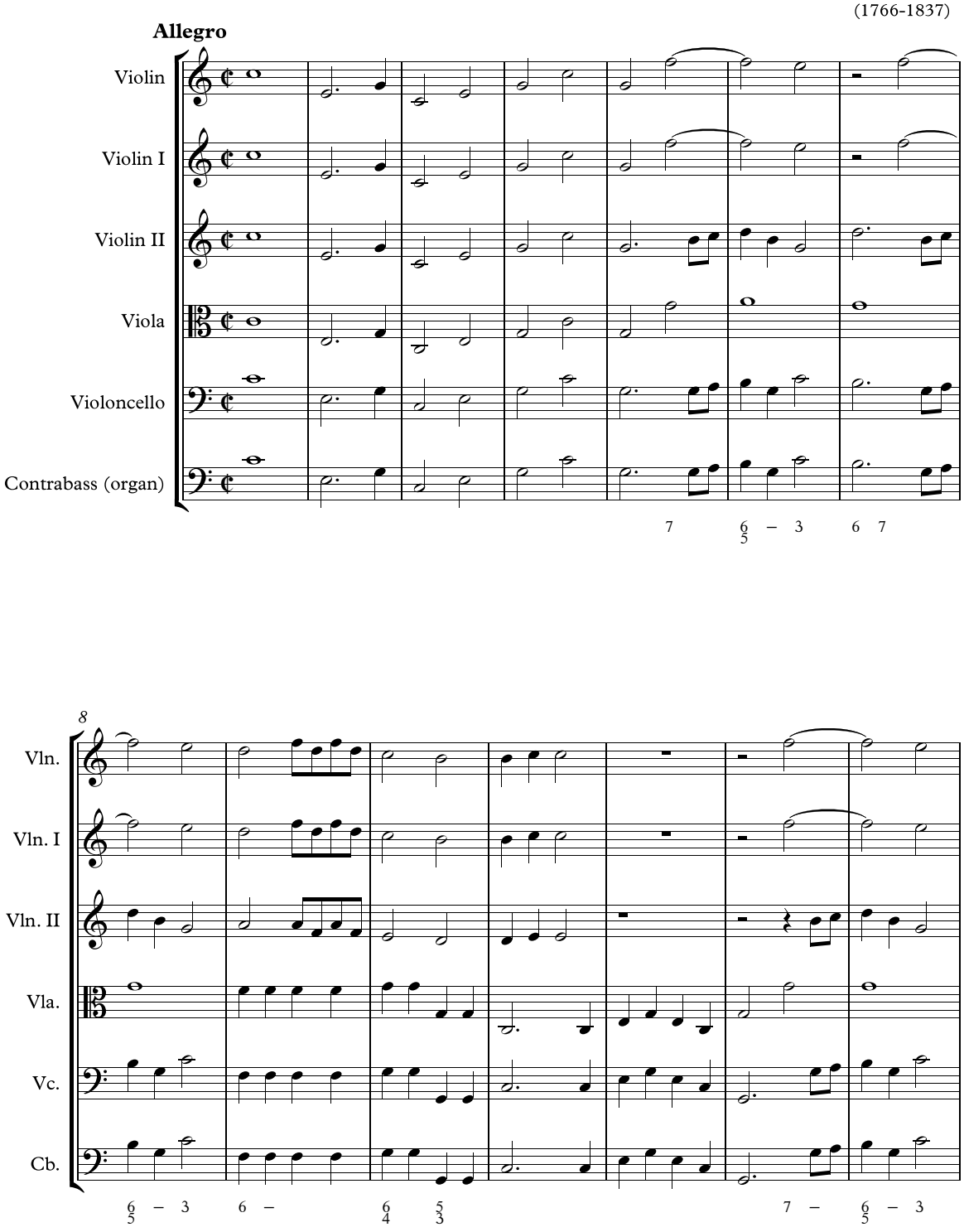
There are abundant dynamic indications throughout both score and parts, though inconsistencies between them have required some reconciliation. There are times when the intent seems obvious, such as when markings show up in one voice of a tutti section but are left out of other voices. In such cases I have transferred the markings. In other cases where a solution is not explicit, I have chosen to leave things as they are and to the interpreter's discretion. Samuel Wesley also uses forte and piano markings in various ways. Sometimes he will write out "forte" or "piano;" elsewhere he will abbreviate them to *for* or *pia,* or simply *f* or *p.* He appears to use all of these interchangeably. Many of these discrepancies sort themselves out in the manuscripts of later concertos. I have taken them more as indications of notational experimentation than musical directives and have normalized them to a standard *f* and *p* throughout.

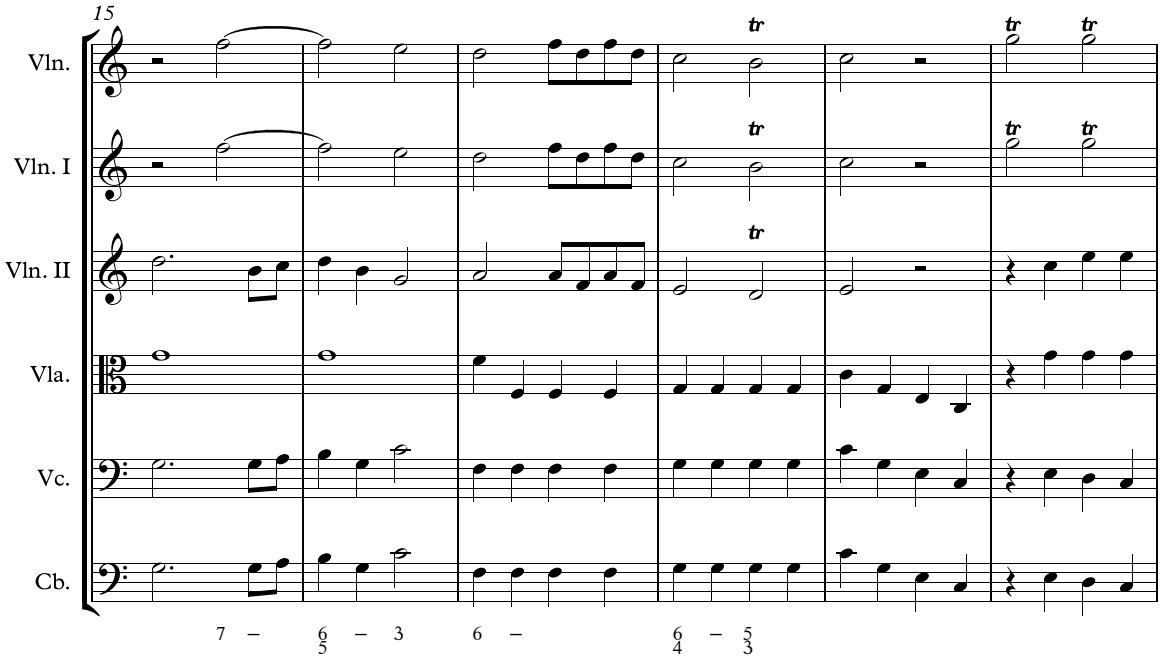
Like many other eighteenth-century composers, Wesley does not bother to continue slurs of similar patterns after an initial marking. I have left these as they are, but performers should understand that slurring of similar patterns could continue even if the indication disappears.

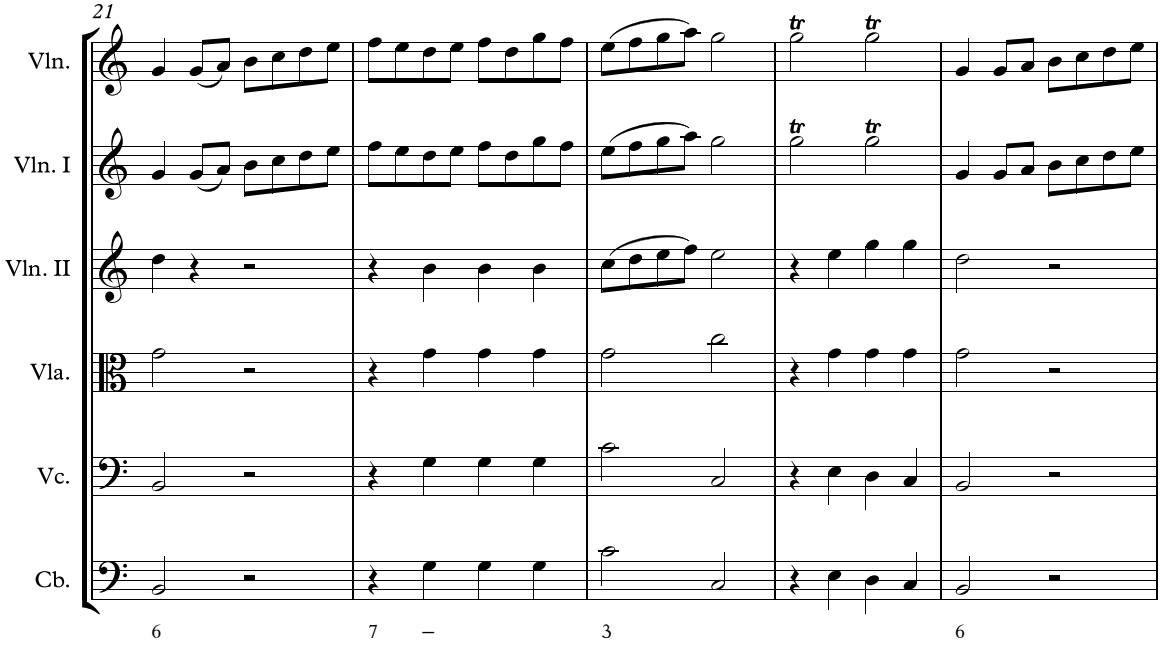
Samuel Wesley uses dots and strokes a great deal. Sometimes they are very clear in their intent, but often they are not. In cases when a stroke is very clearly indicated, I have left it; when the intention is unclear, I have chosen a dot. I took the human element into account in making this distinction. Many times the ambiguous dots seem ambiguous only because they are elongated. I can imagine while quickly writing dot after dot in a row, it would have been easy for Samuel's hand to drag into a line. On the other hand, when Samuel notates a stroke, the writing is reassuringly dark, and the ink marks are much thicker.

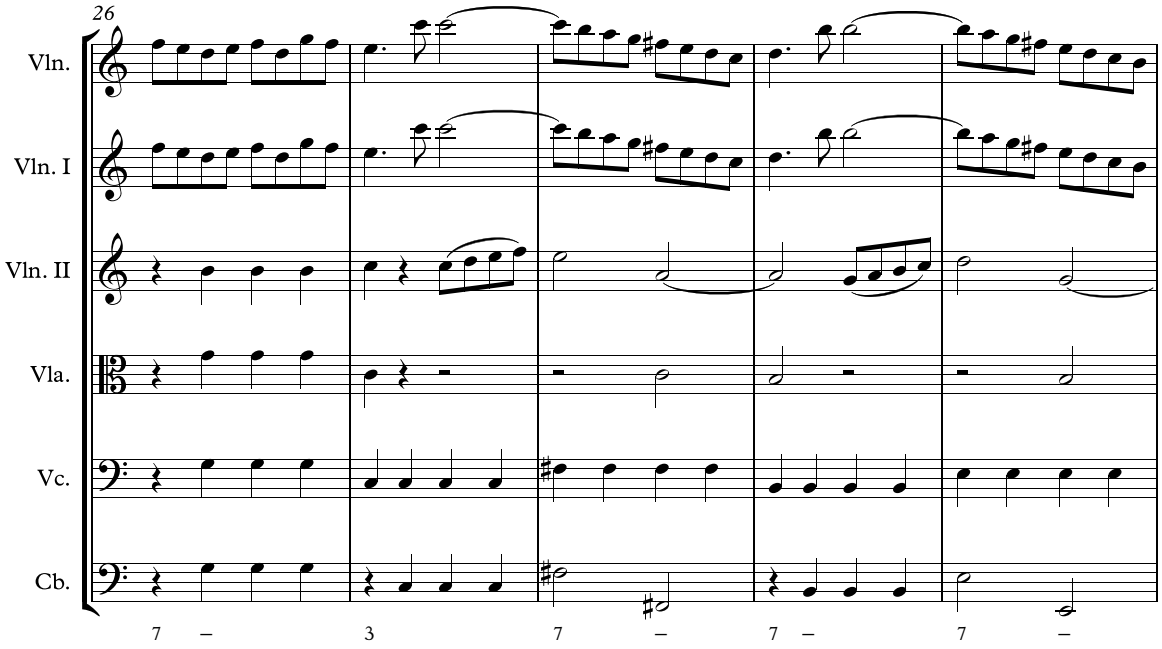
Appendix: Concerto in C (1779)

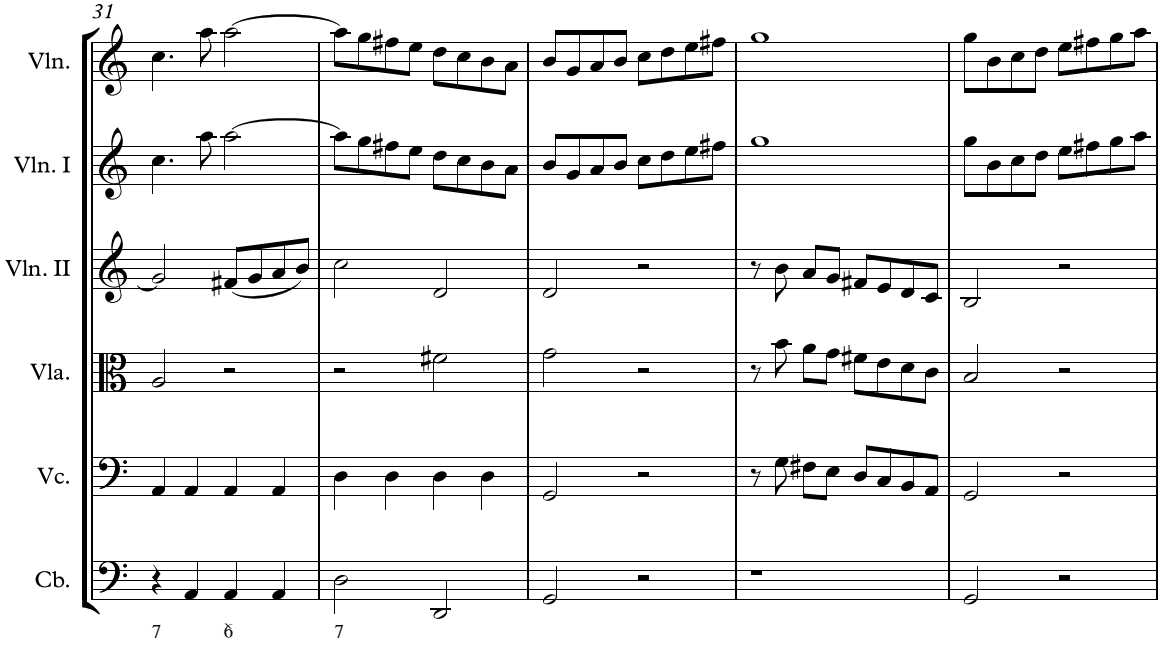
Samuel Wesley
(1766-1837)

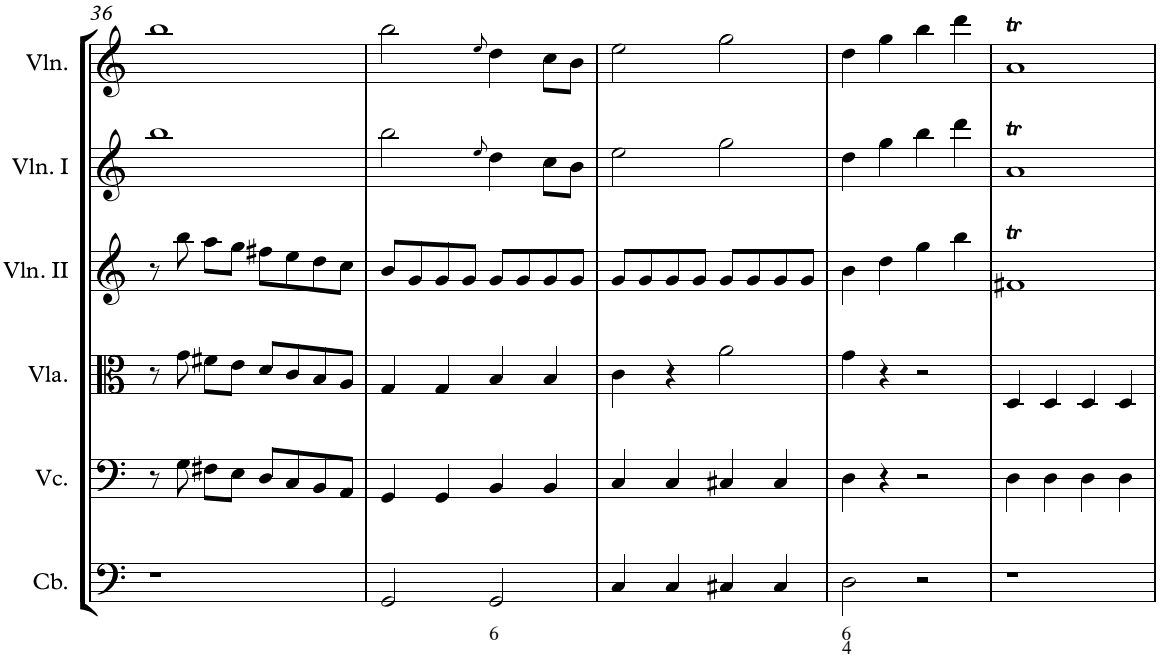


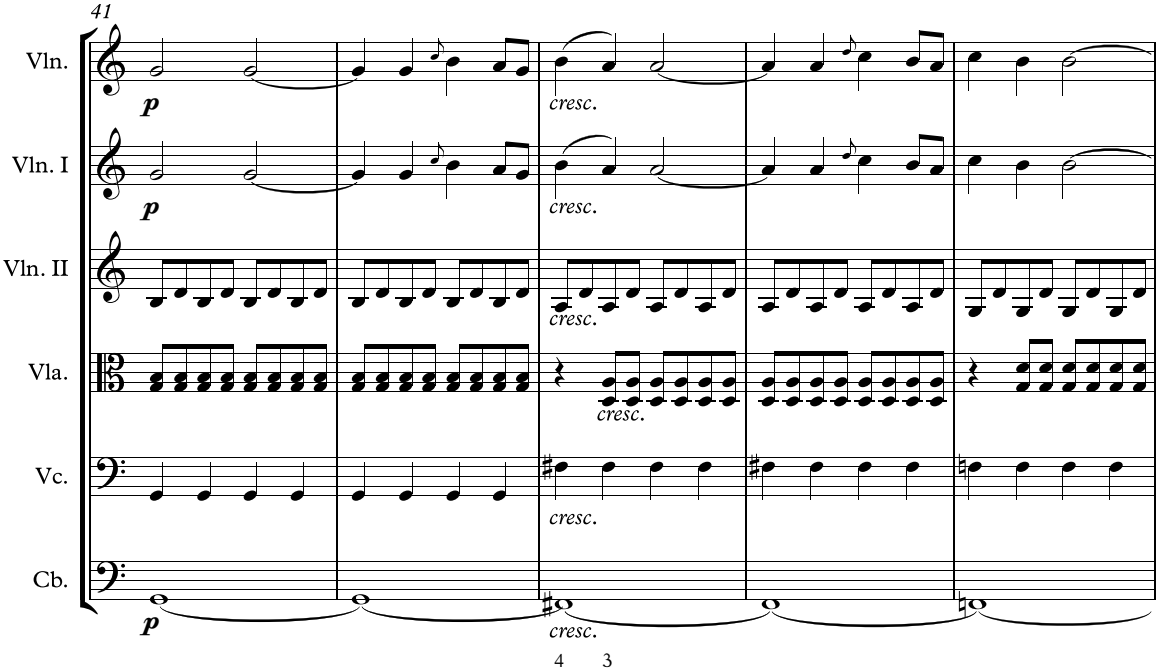

15
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7 – 6/5 – 3 6 – 6/4 – 5/3

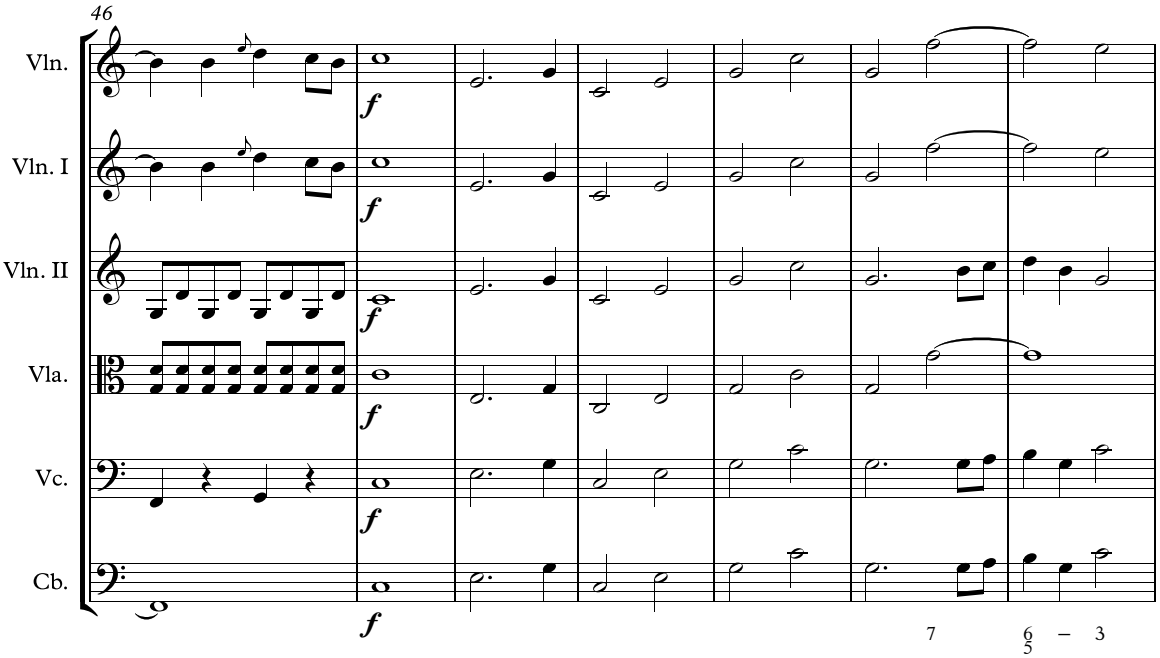

21
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6 7 – 3 6

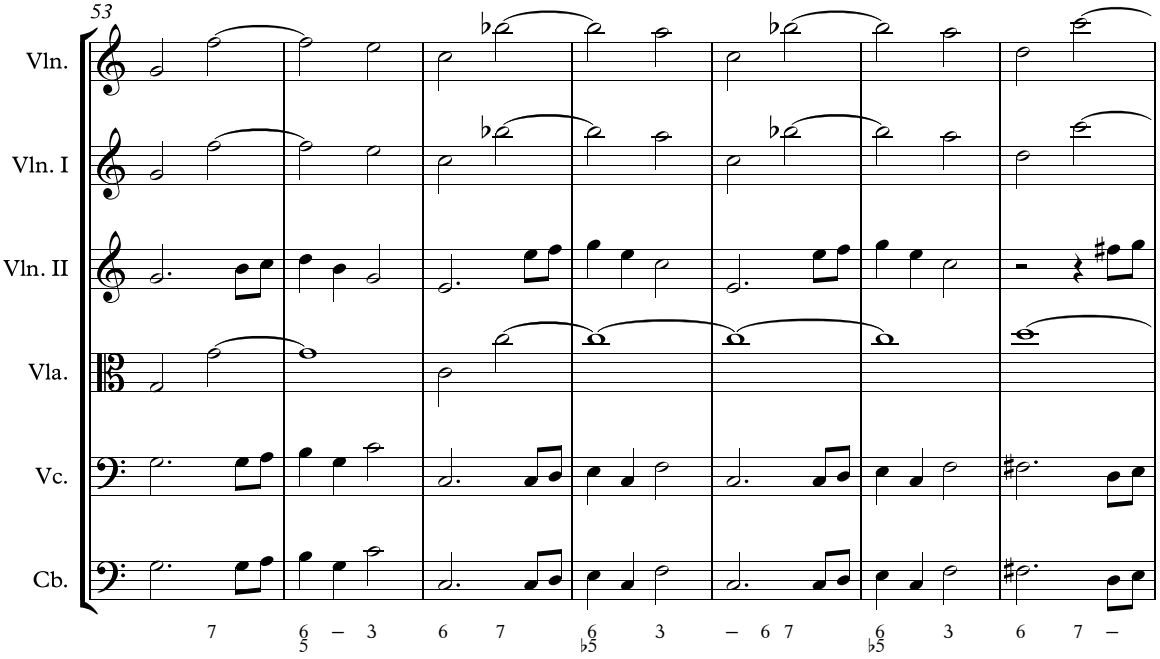

26
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7 – 3 7 – 7 – 7 –

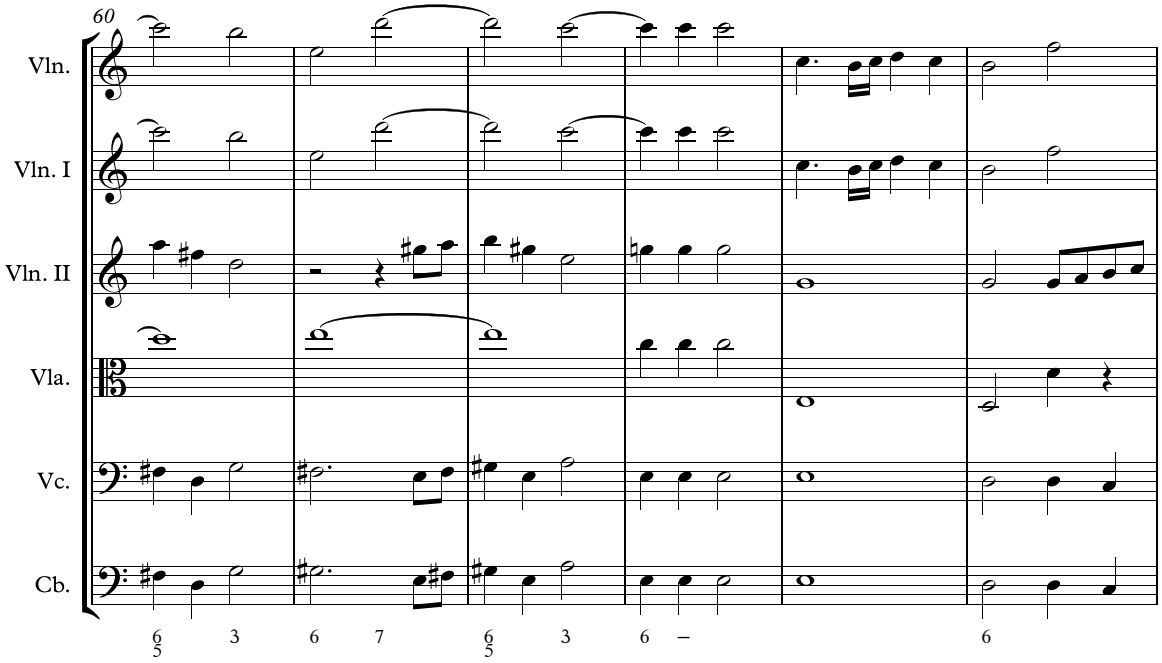

31
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7 7

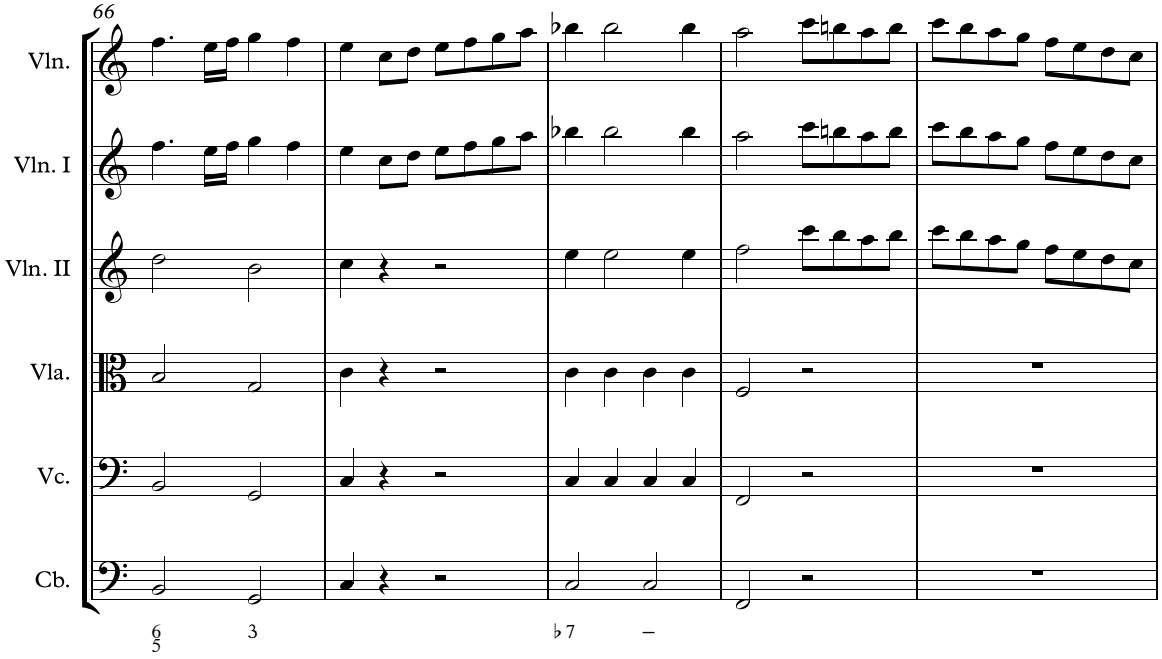

36
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
6
6
4

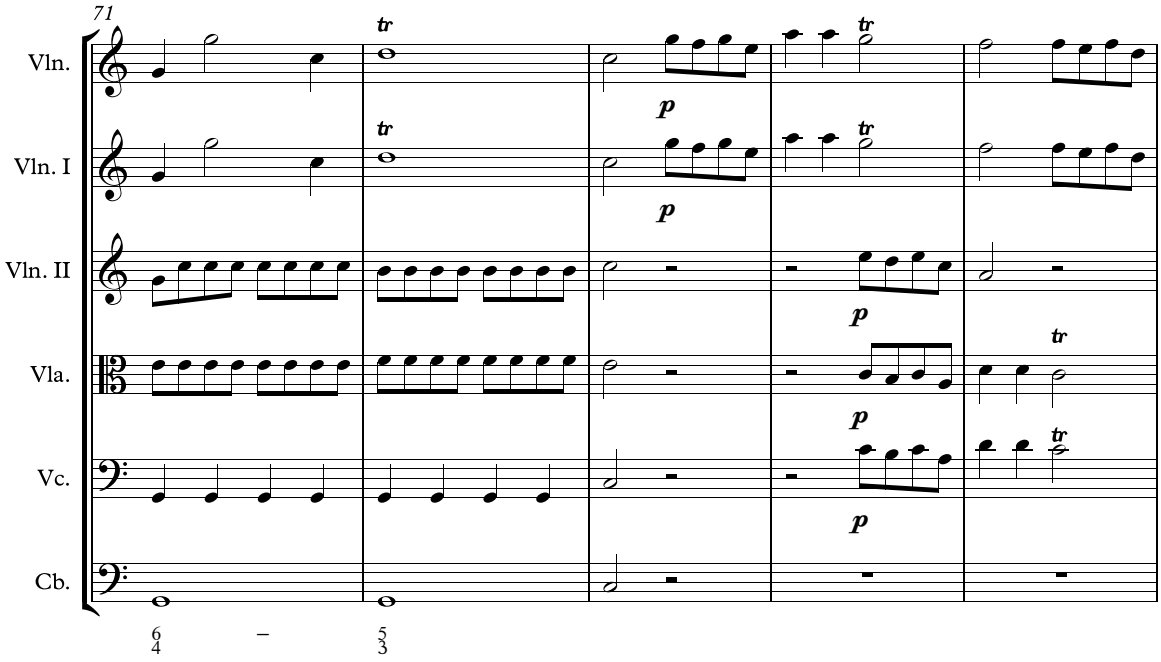

41
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
p
cresc.
4
3

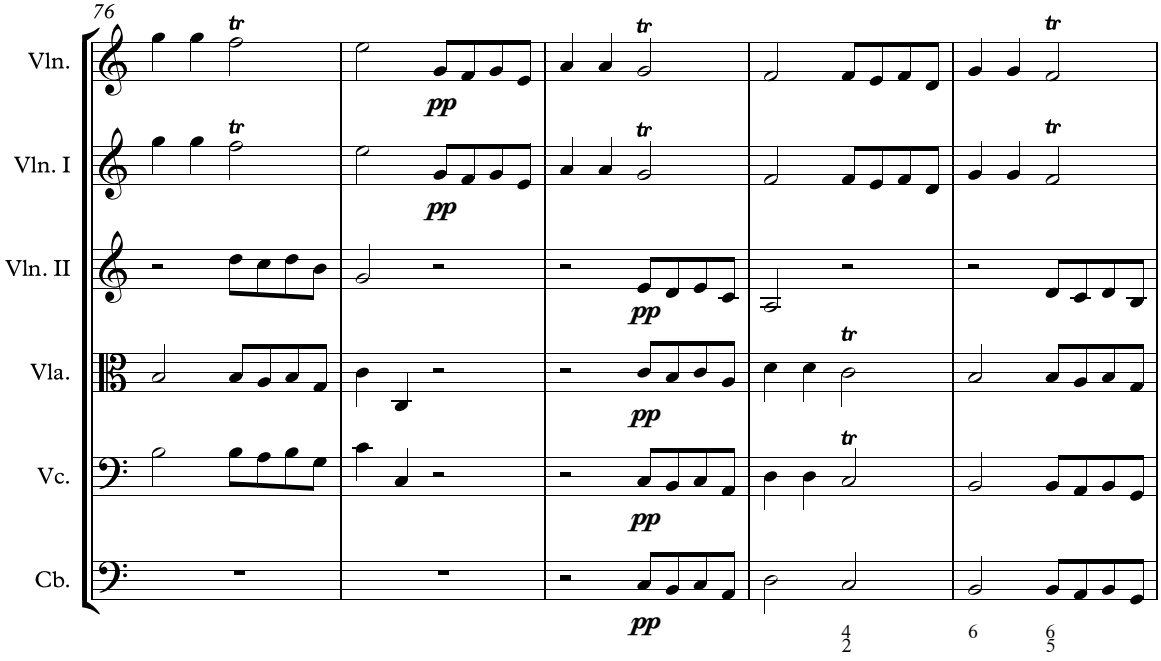

46
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f
7
6/5
–
3

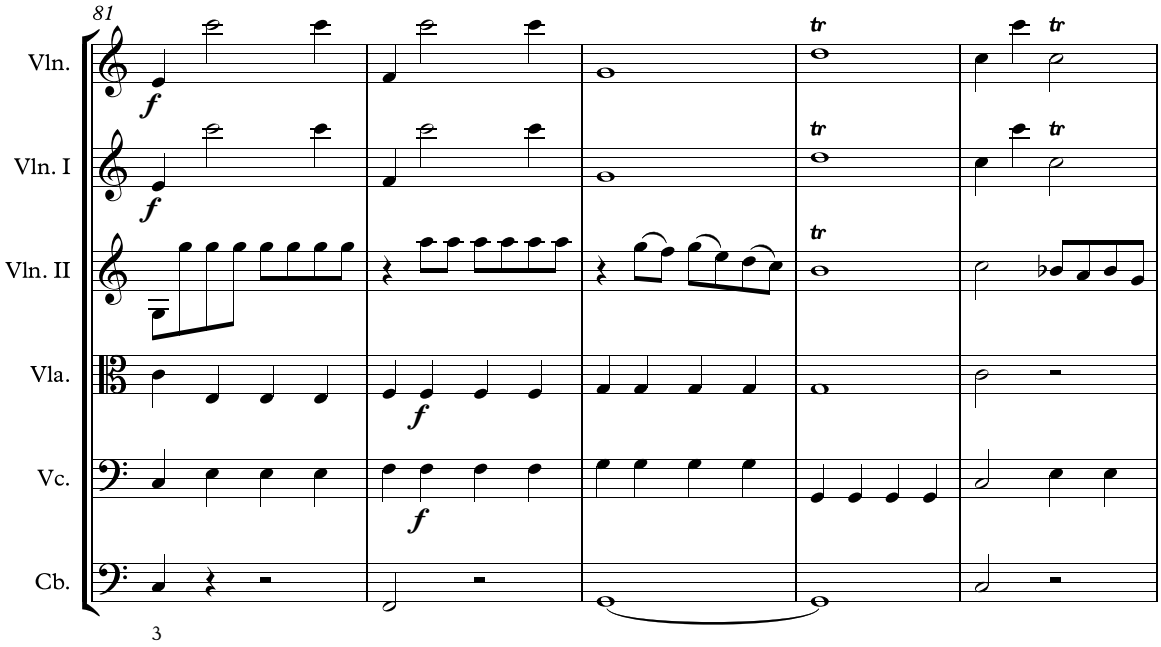

53
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7
6/5
–
3
6
7
6/♭5
3
–
6
7
6/♭5
3
6
7
–

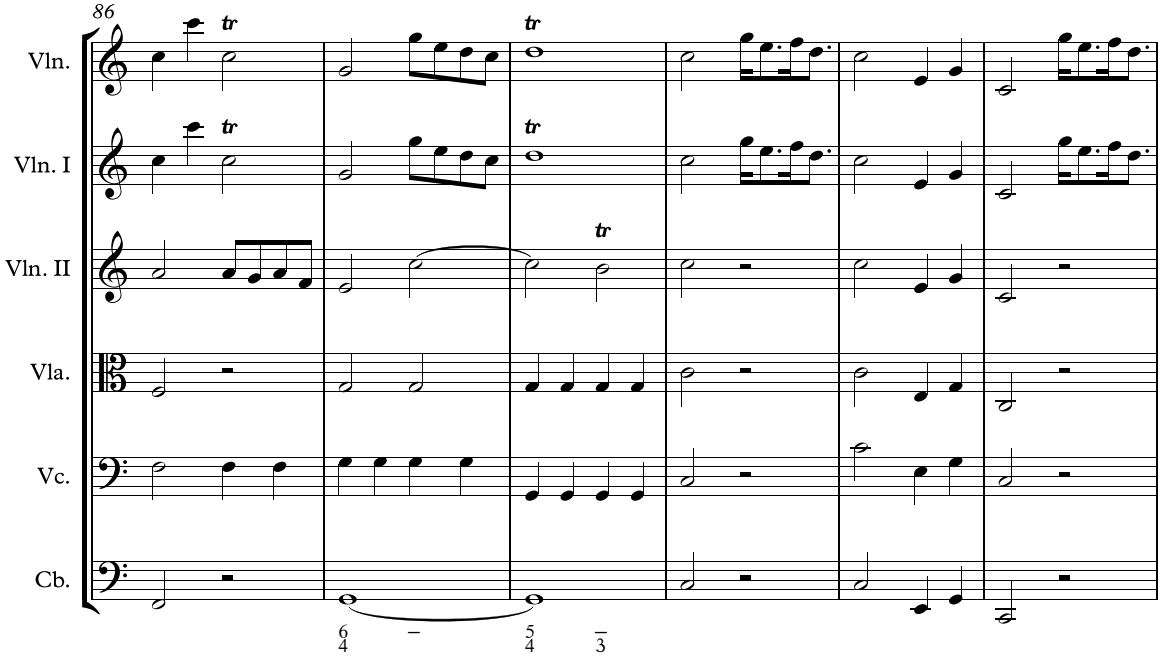

60
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6/5 3 6 7 6/5 3 6 – 6

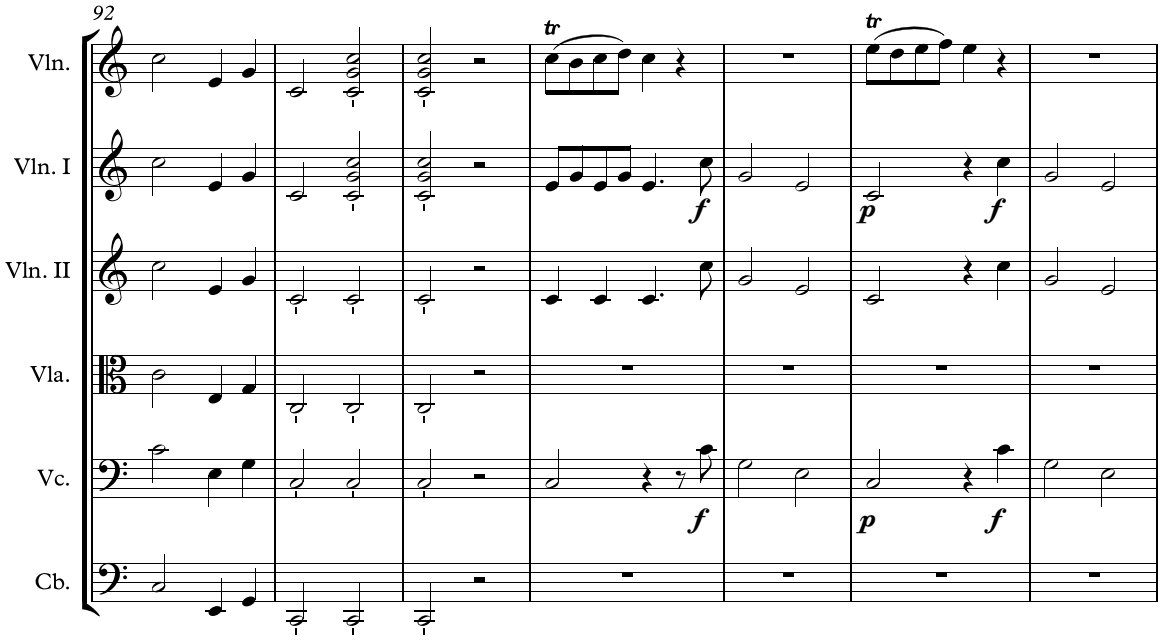

66
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6/5 3 ♭7 –

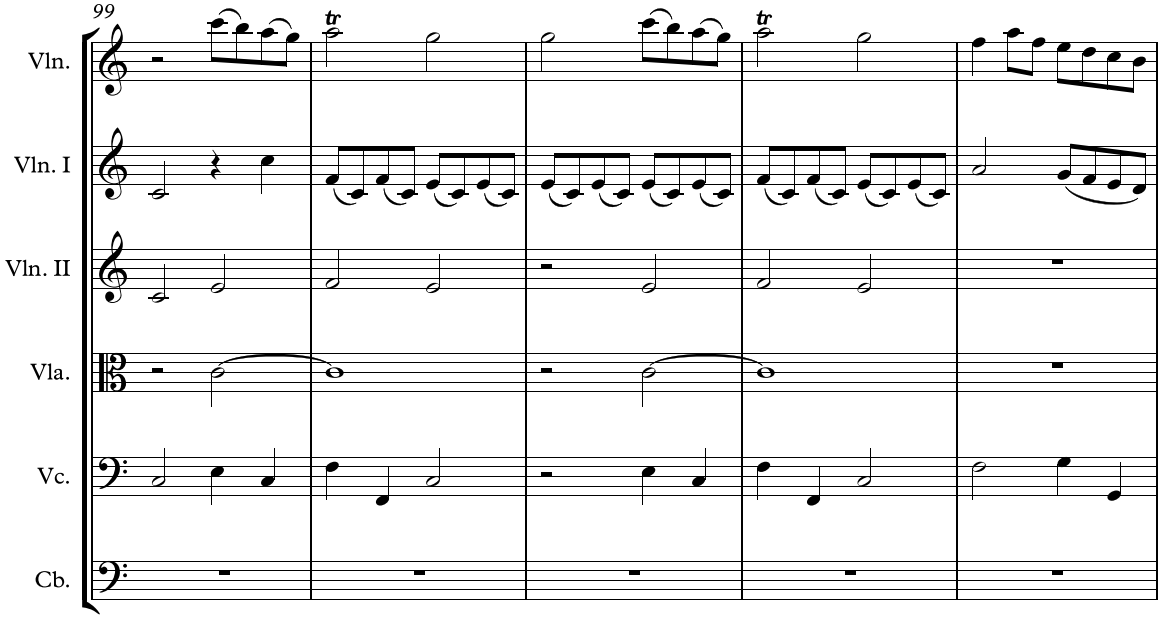

71
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
p
6/4
5/3

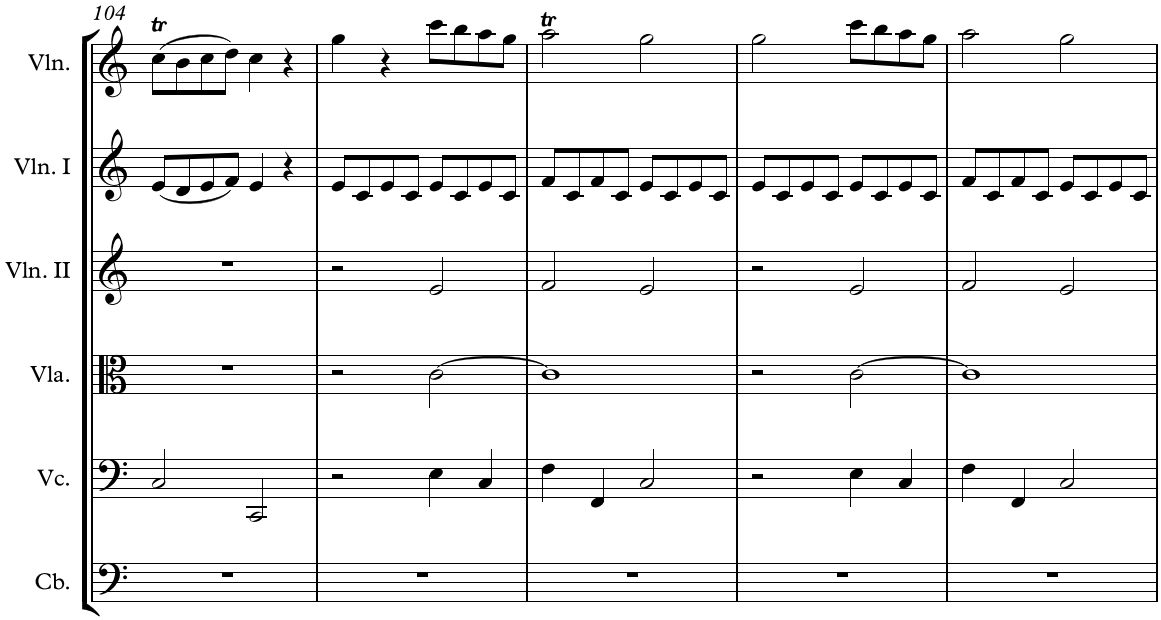

76
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
pp
4/2
6
6/5

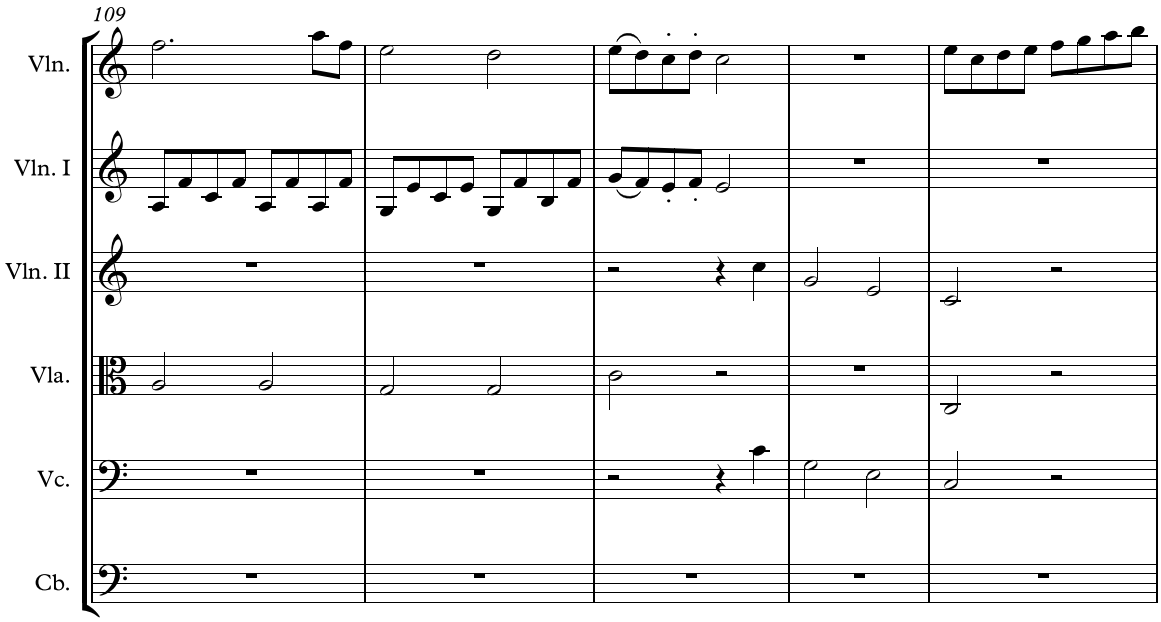

81
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f
tr
3

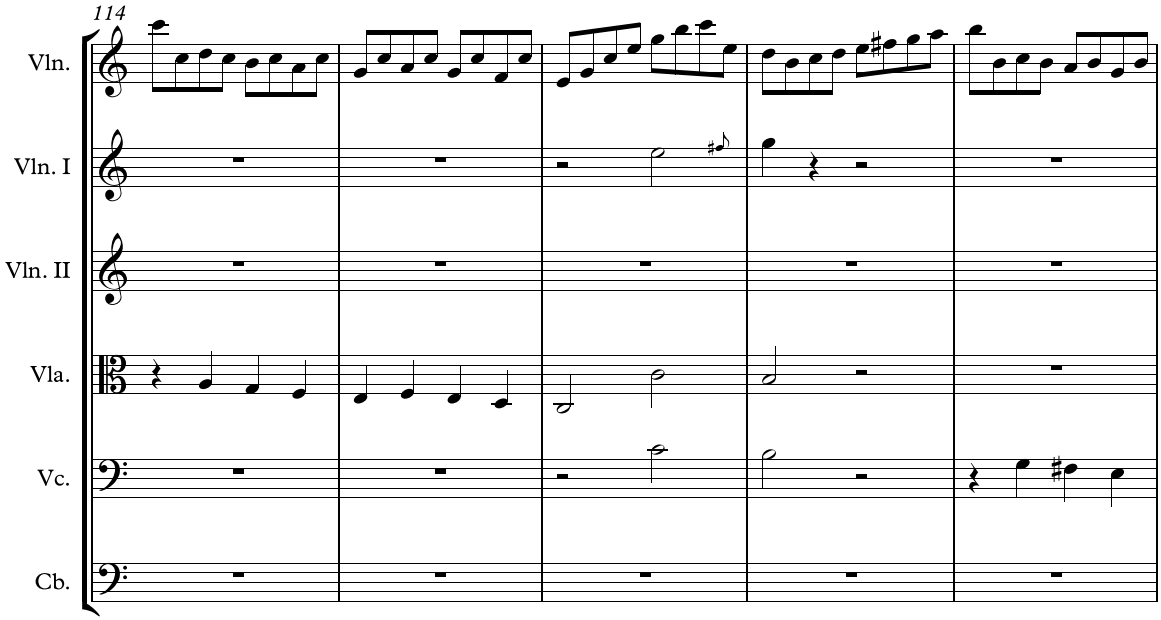

86
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
6/4
5/4
3

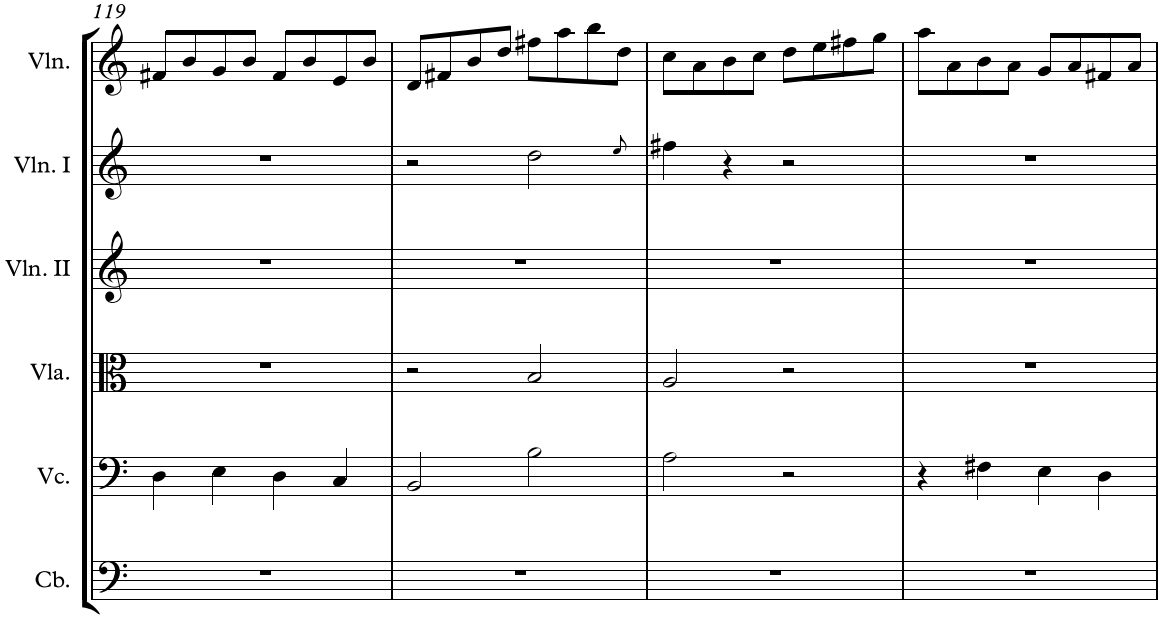

92
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
f
p
f
f
p
f

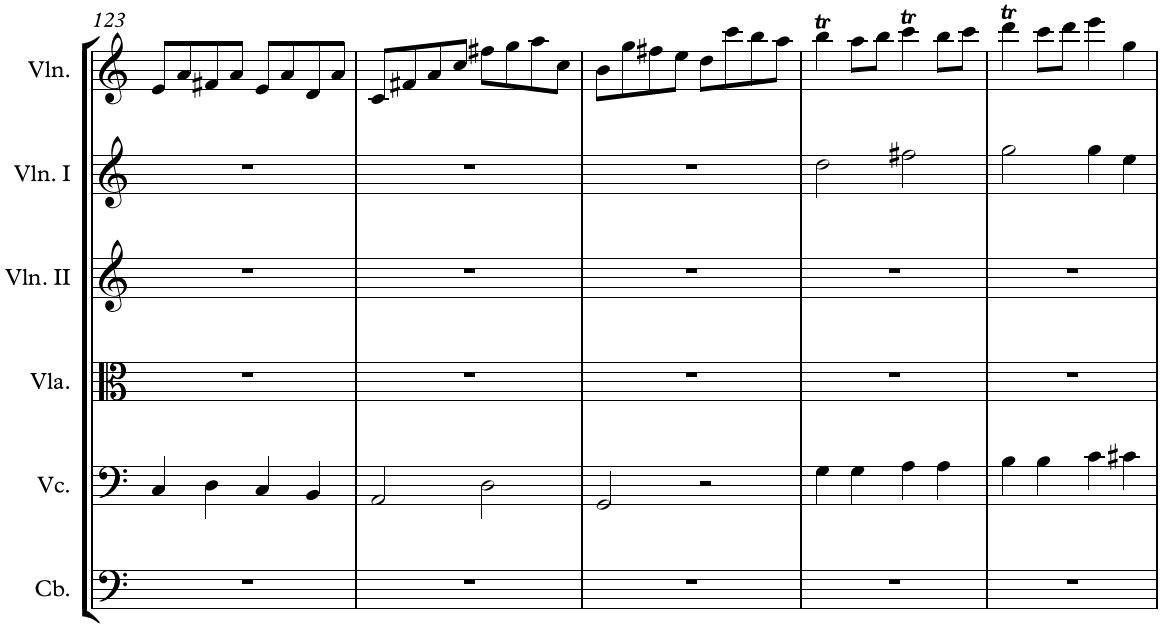

99
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr

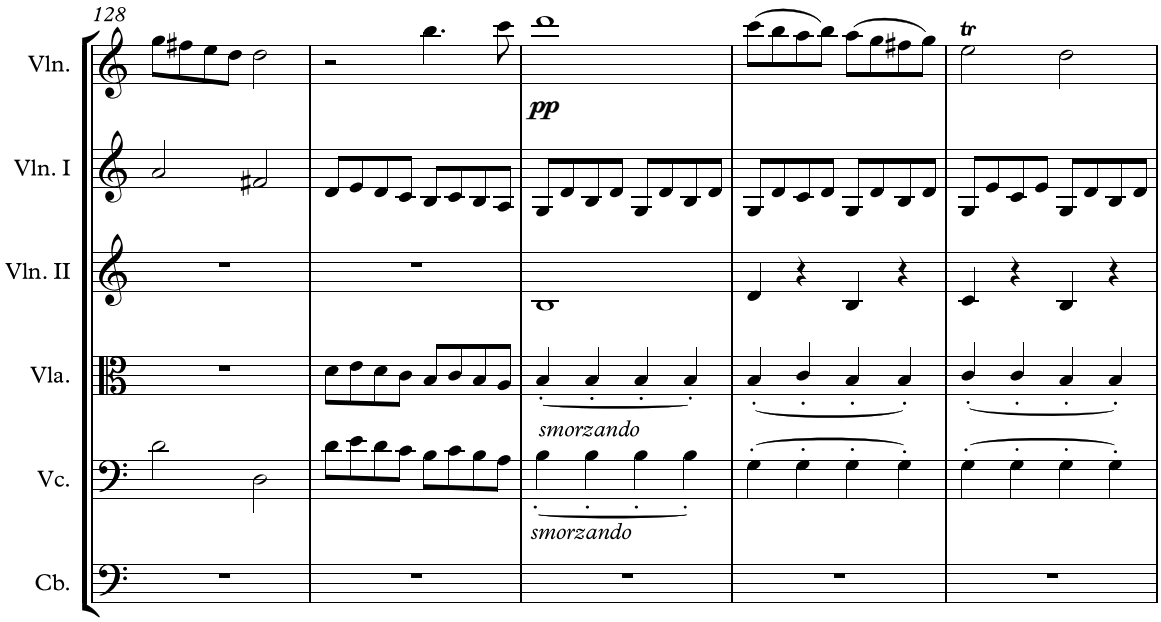

104
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

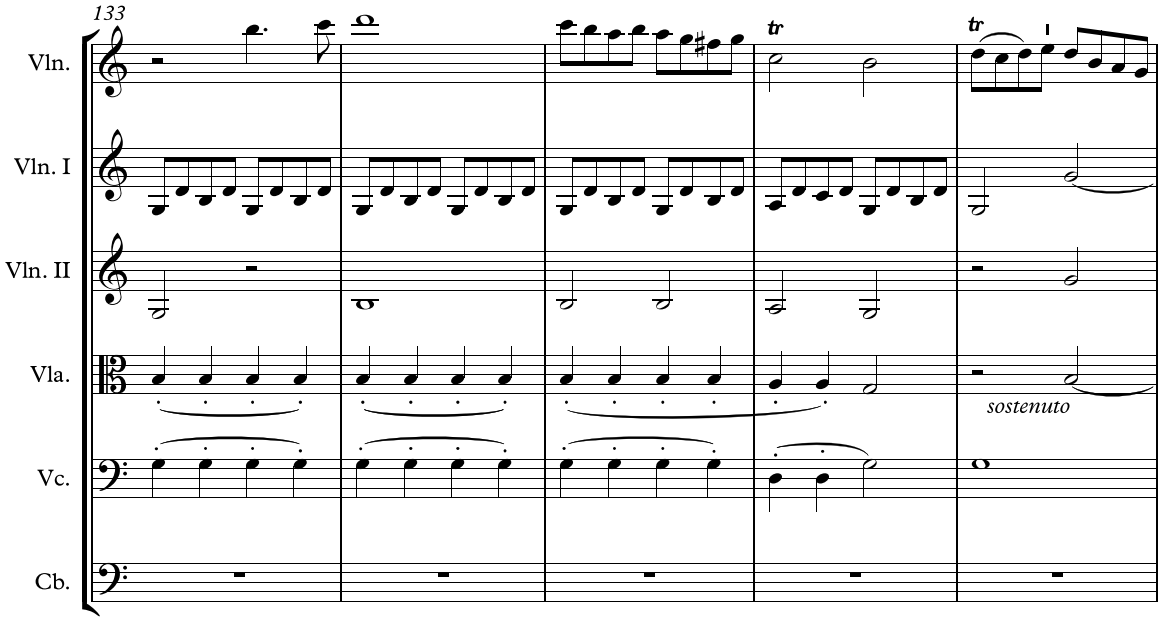

109
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

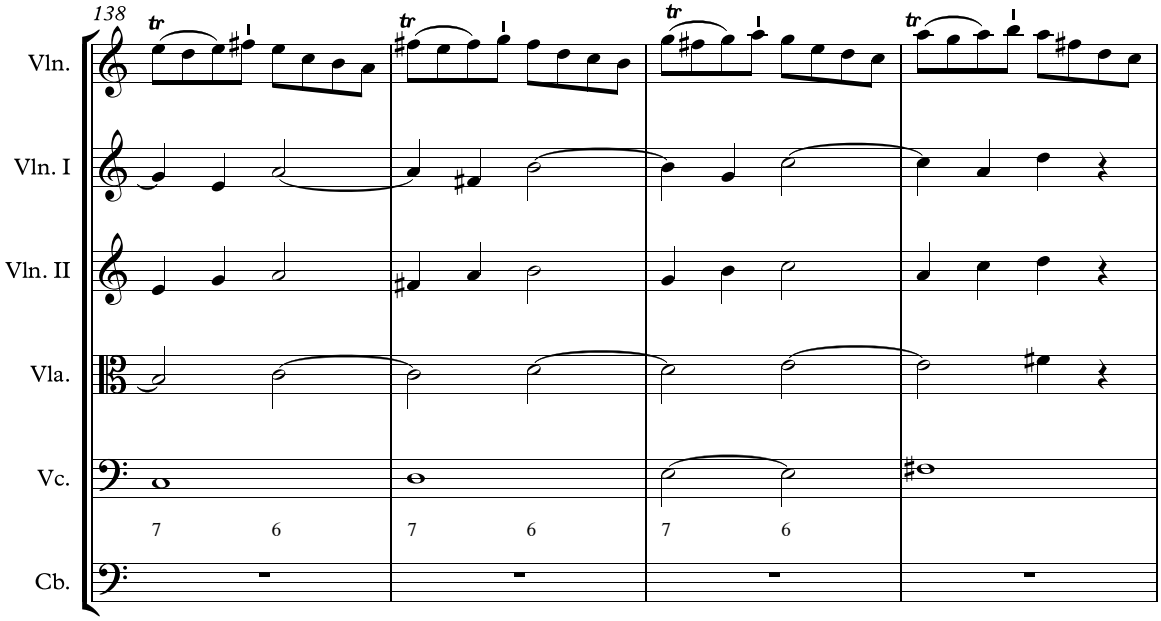

114
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

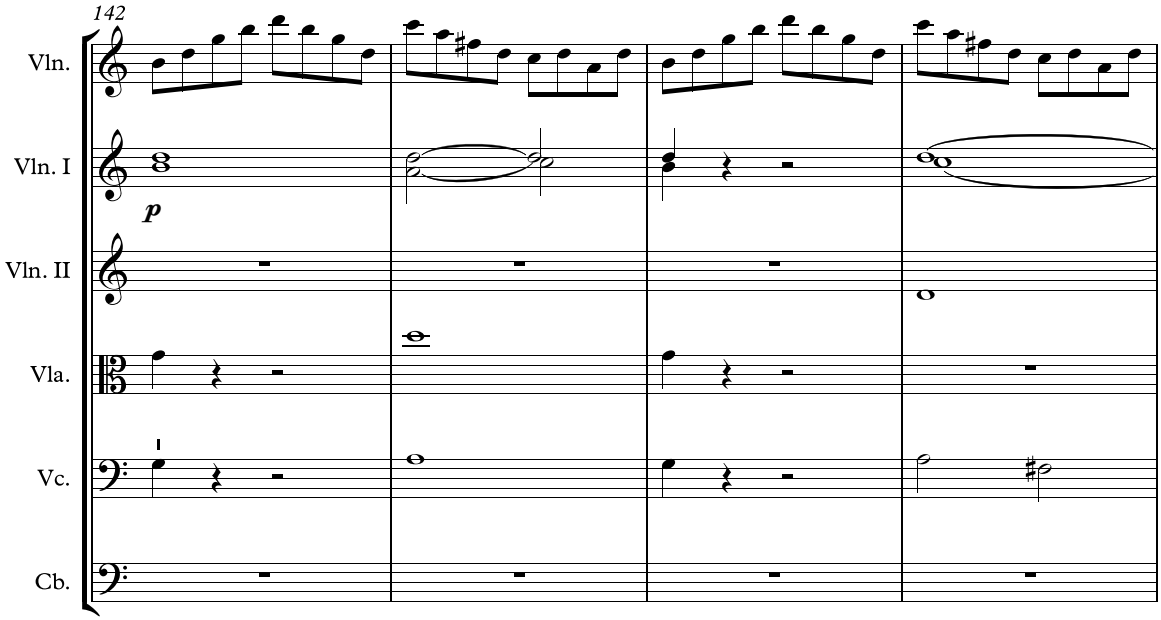

119
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

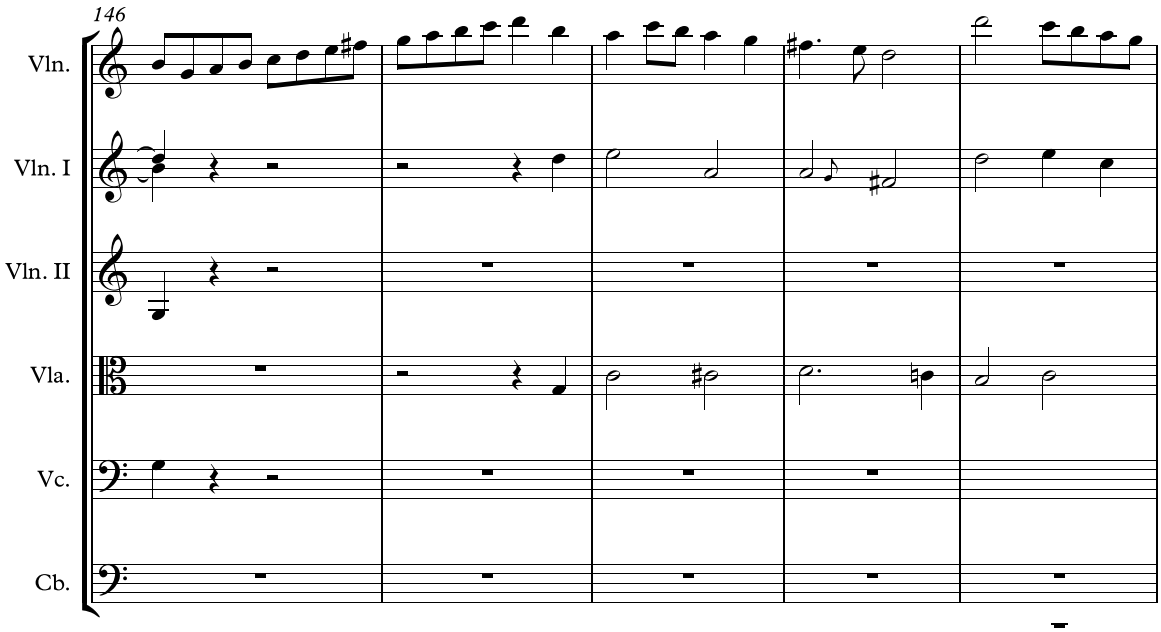

123
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr

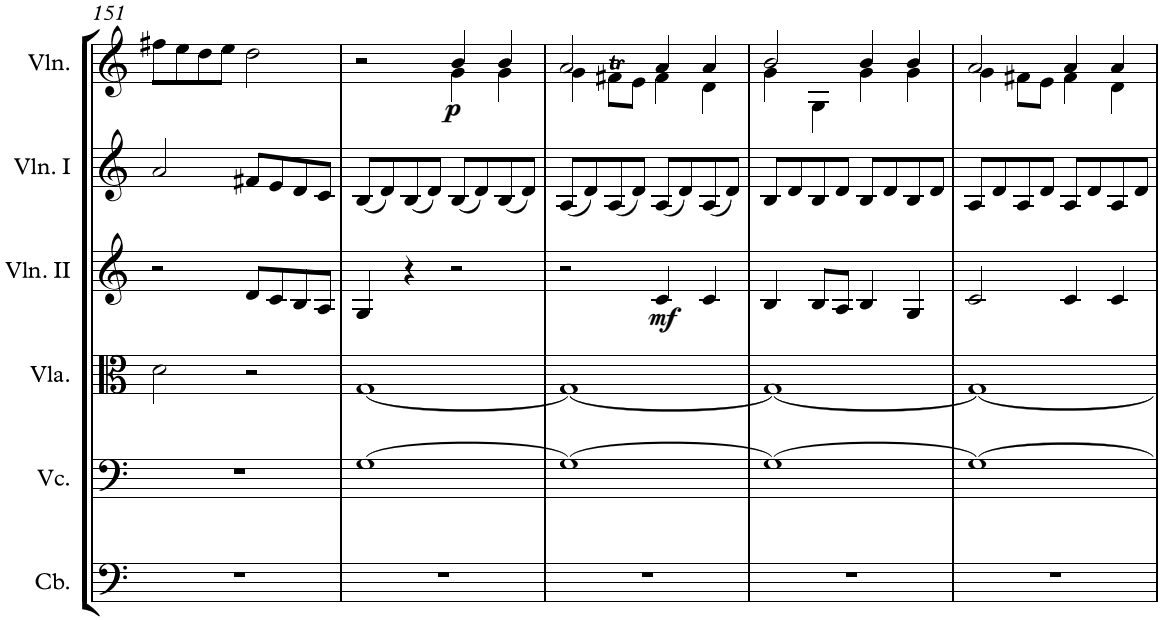

128
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
pp
smorzando
smorzando
tr

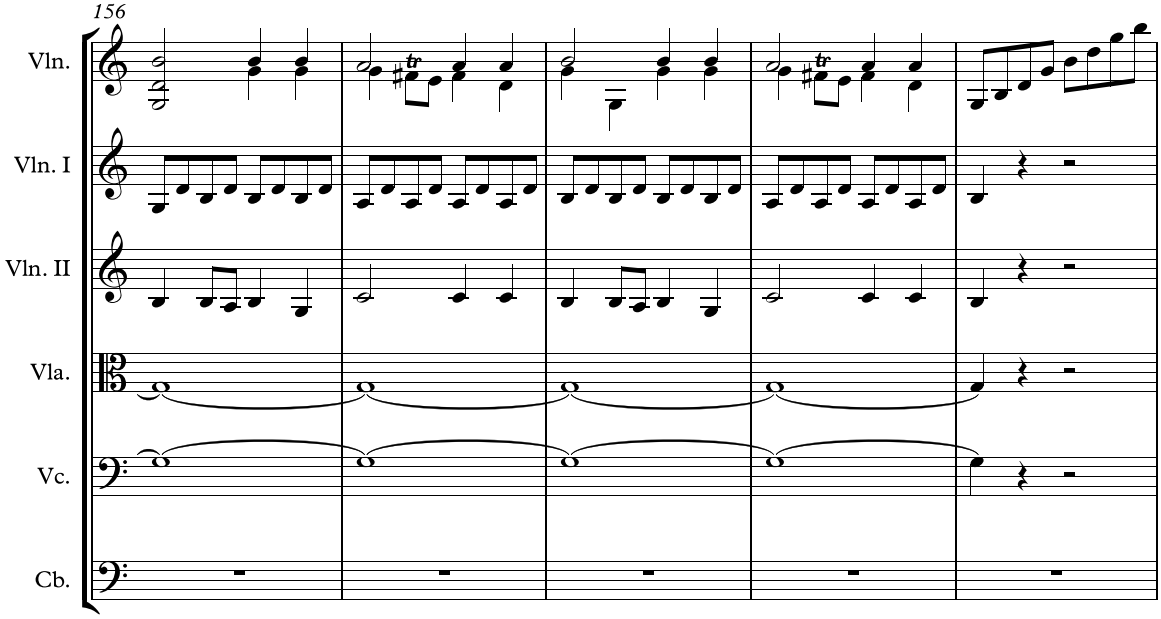

133
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
sostenuto

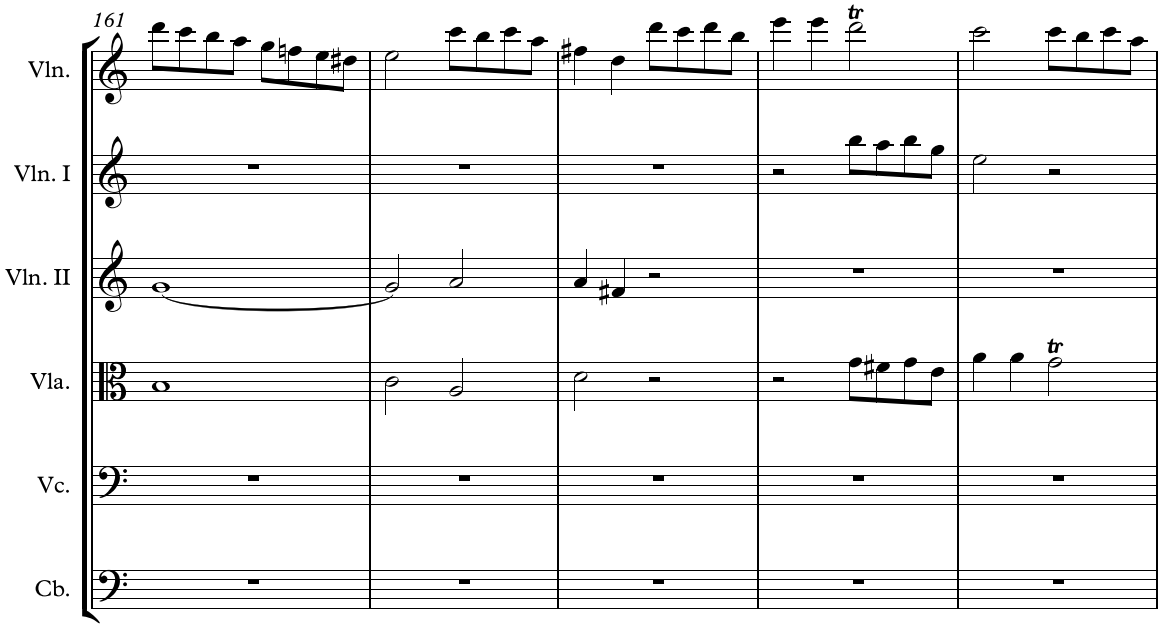

138
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr
tr
7
6
7
6
7
6

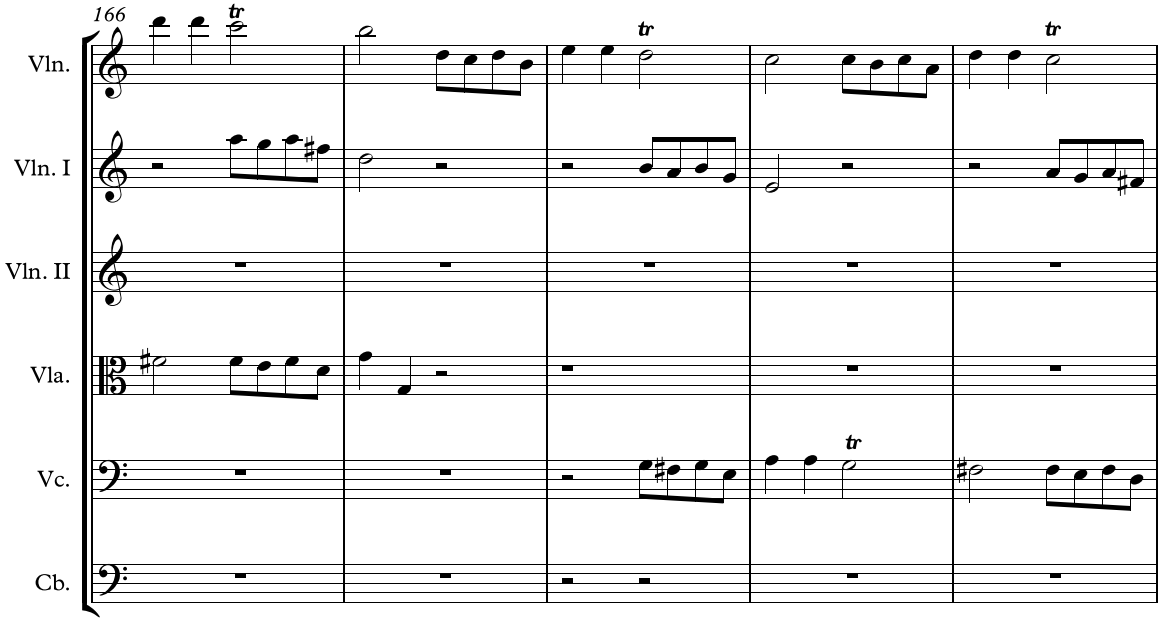

142
Vln.
Vln. I
p
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

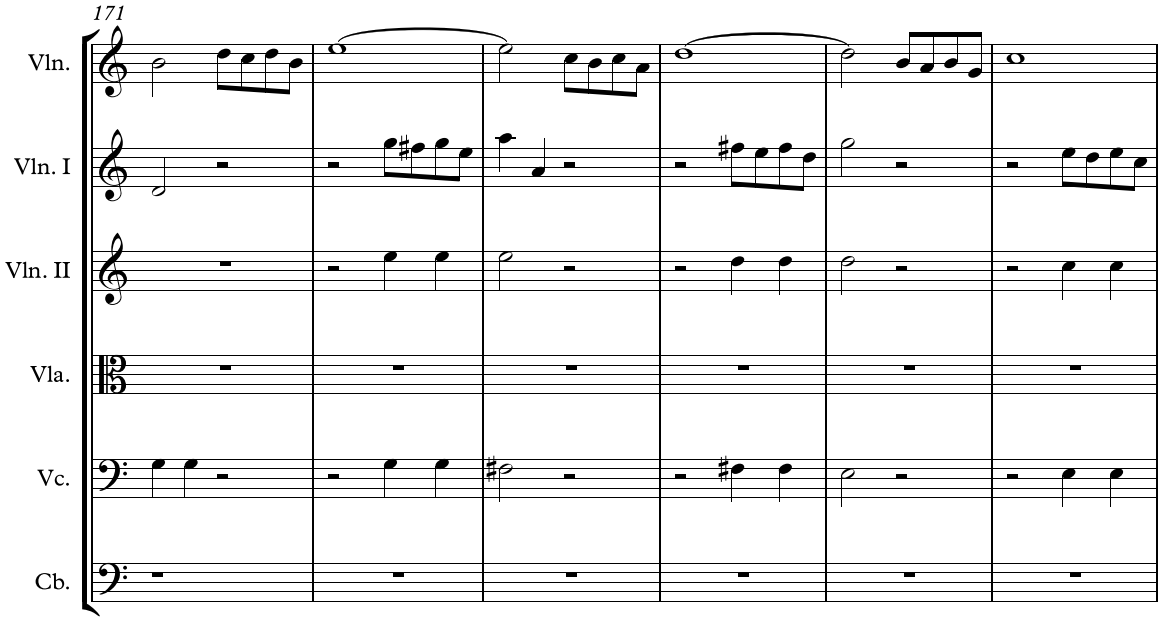

146
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

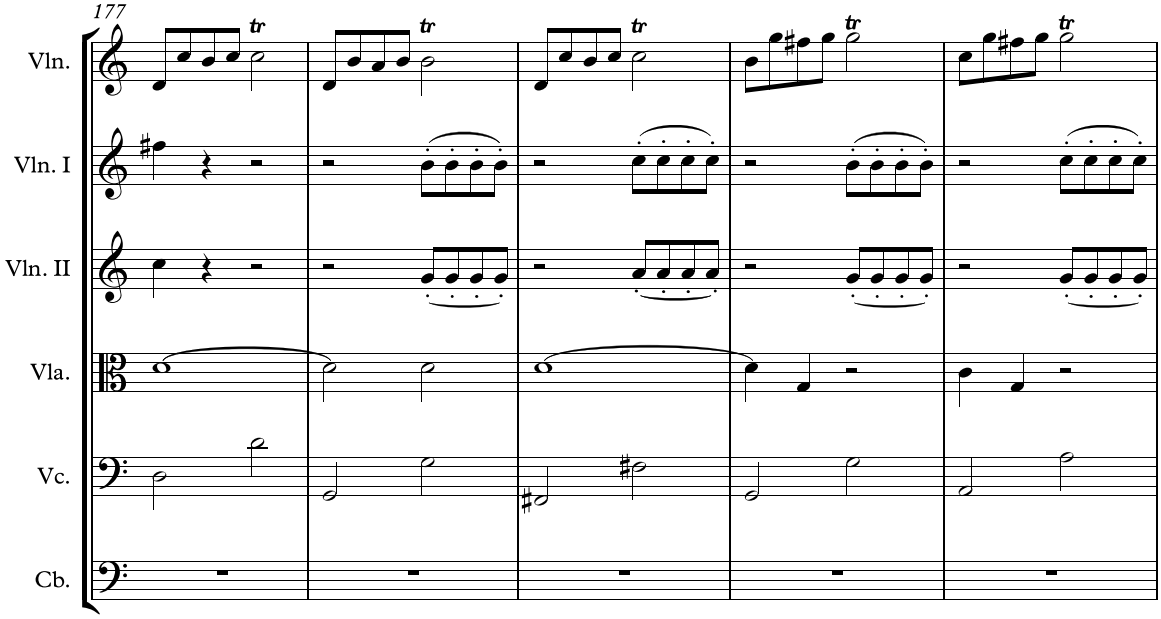

151
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
p
mf

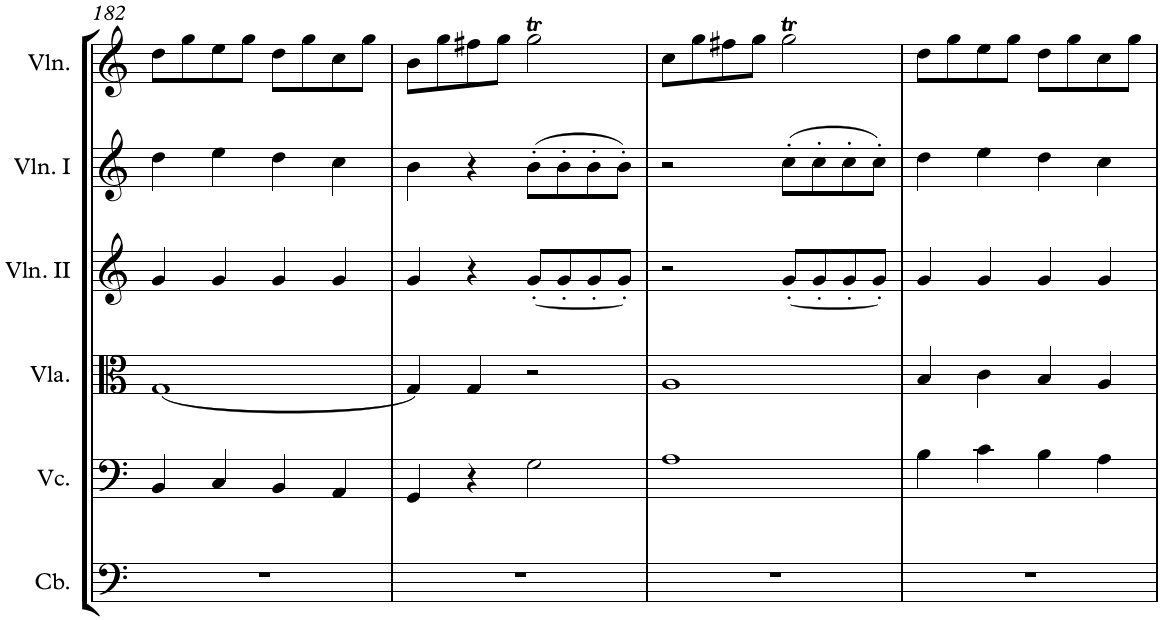

156
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

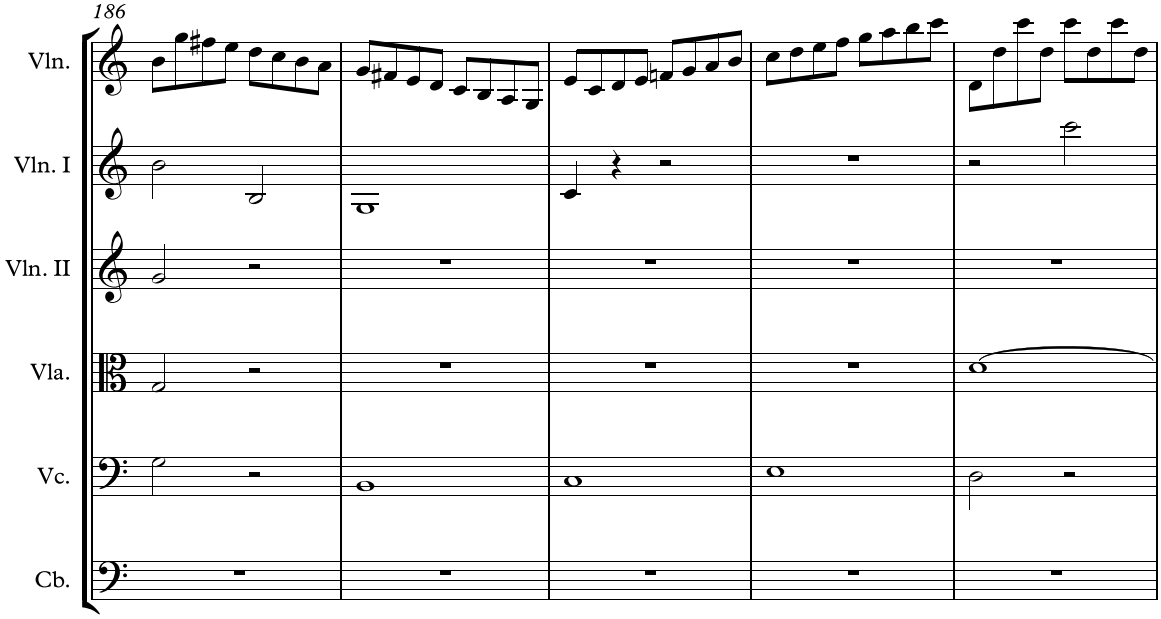

161
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

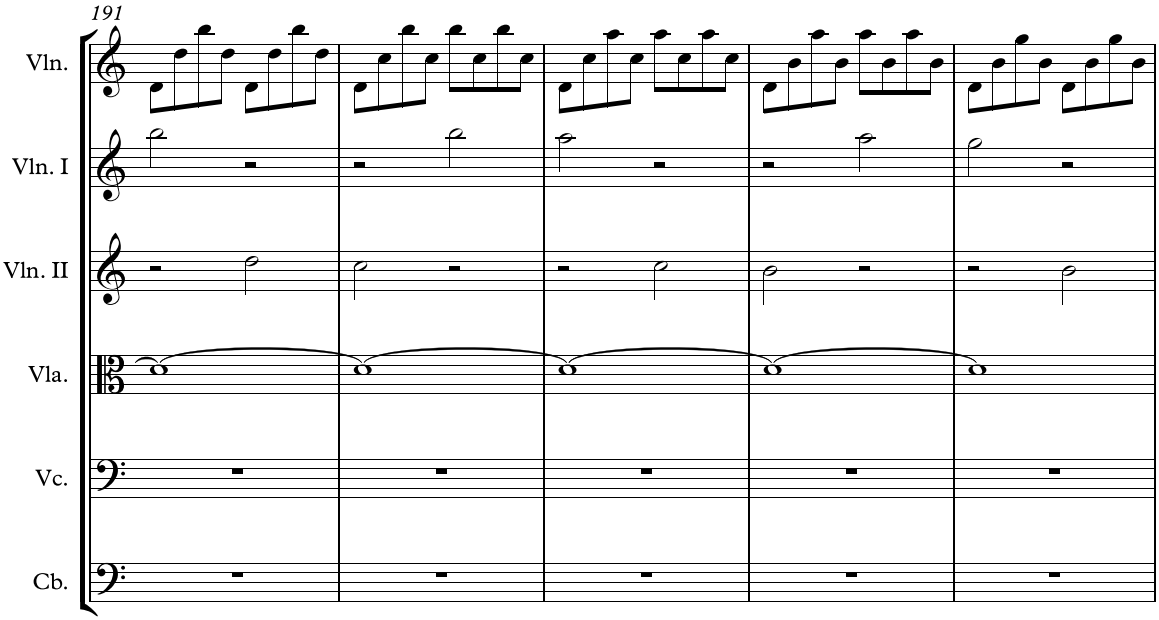

166
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

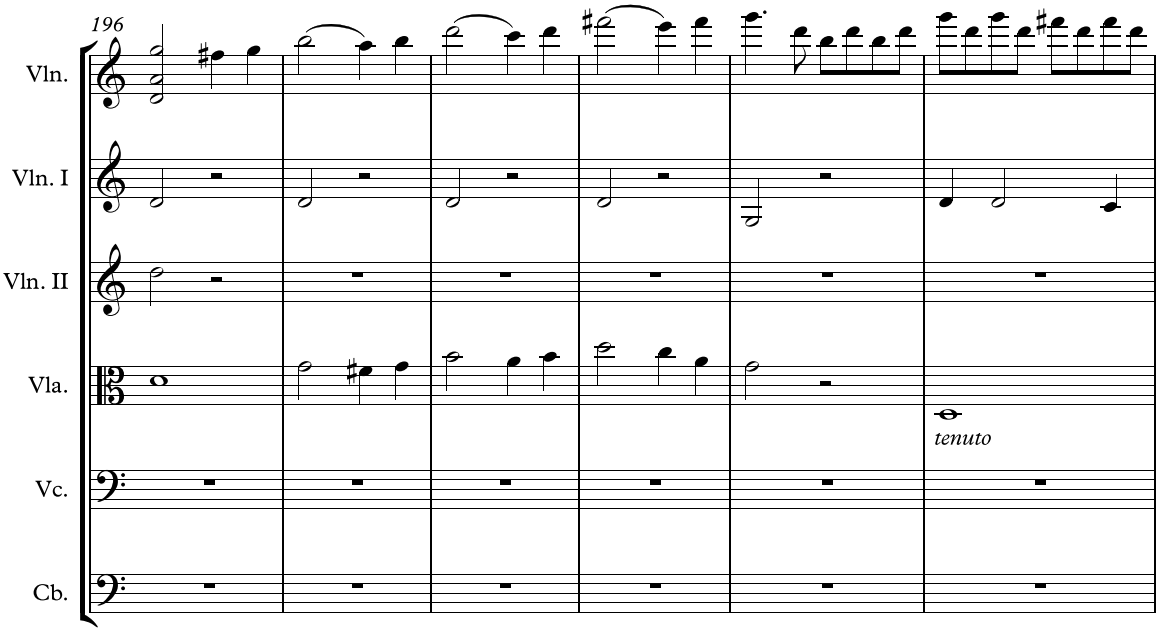

171
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

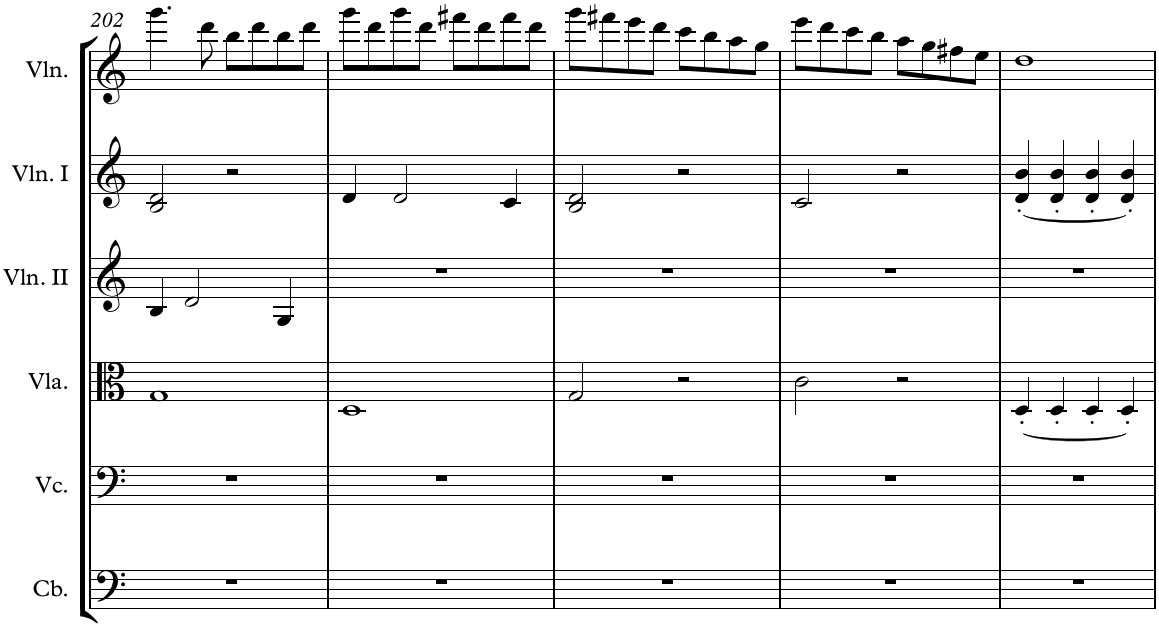

177
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

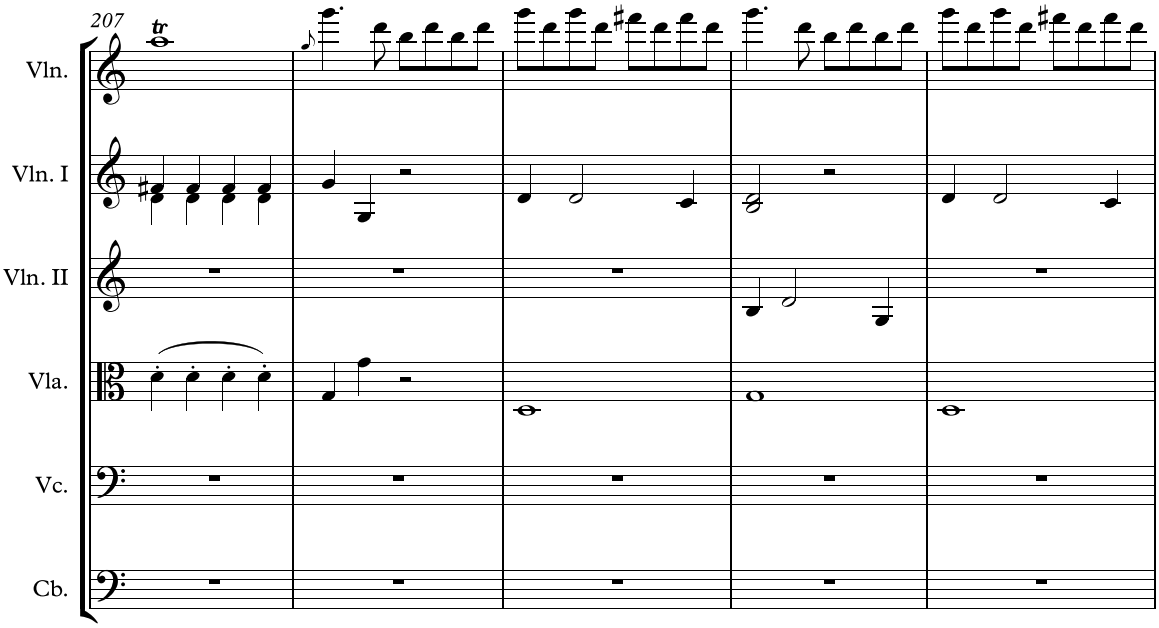

182
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

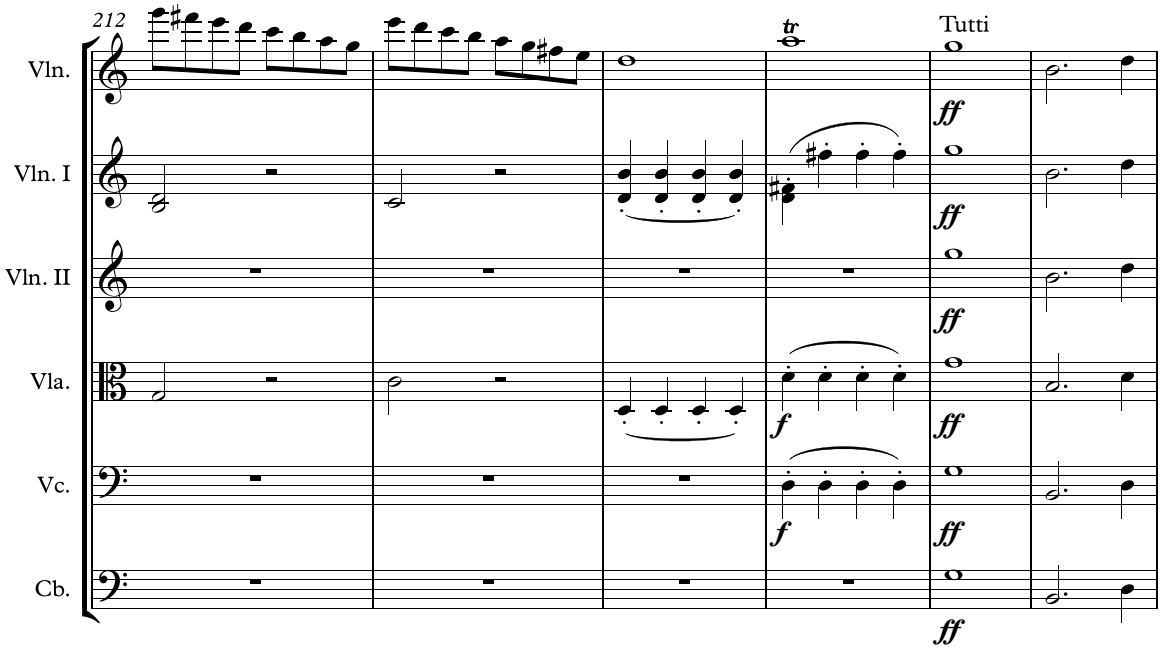

186
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

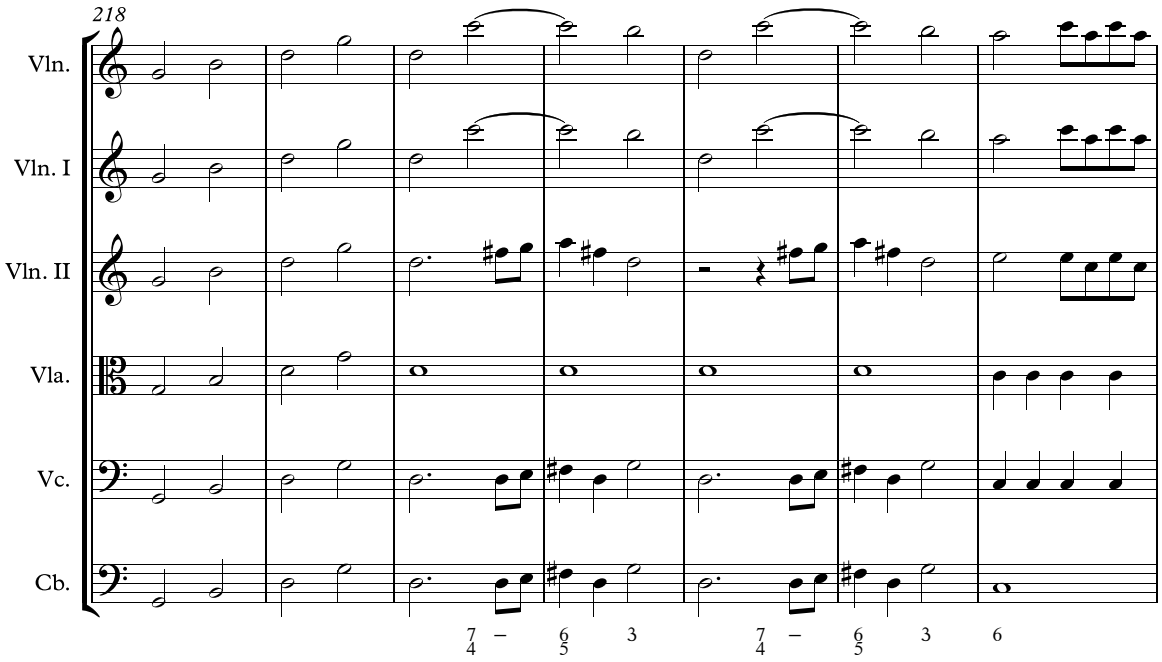

191
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

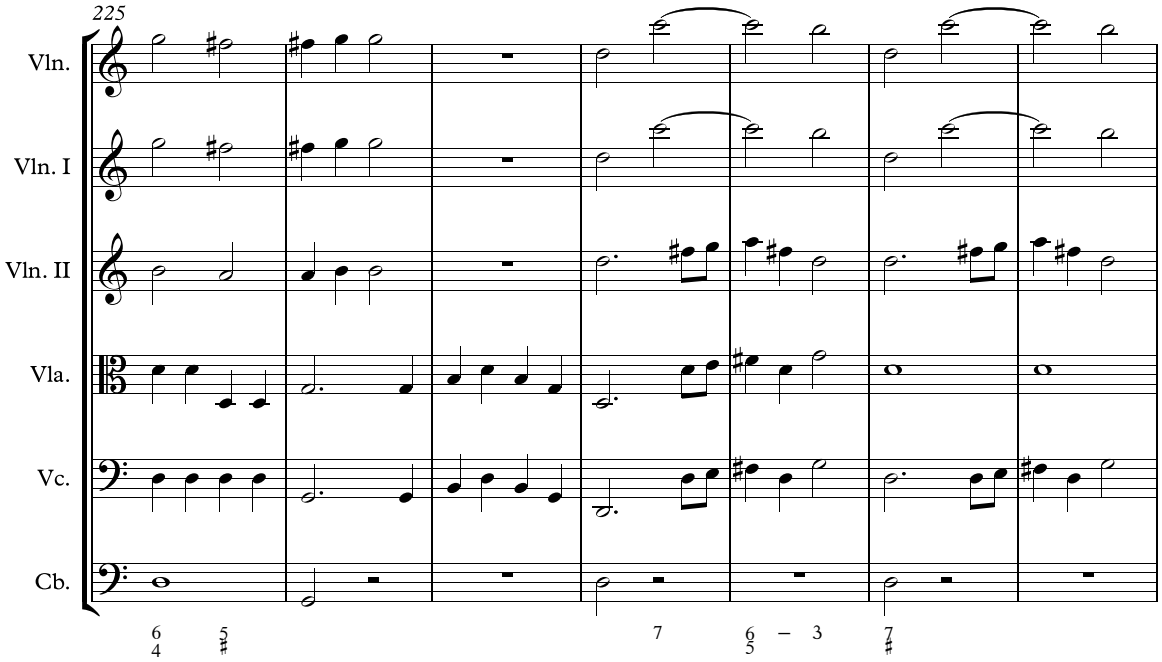

196
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
tenuto
Vc.
Cb.

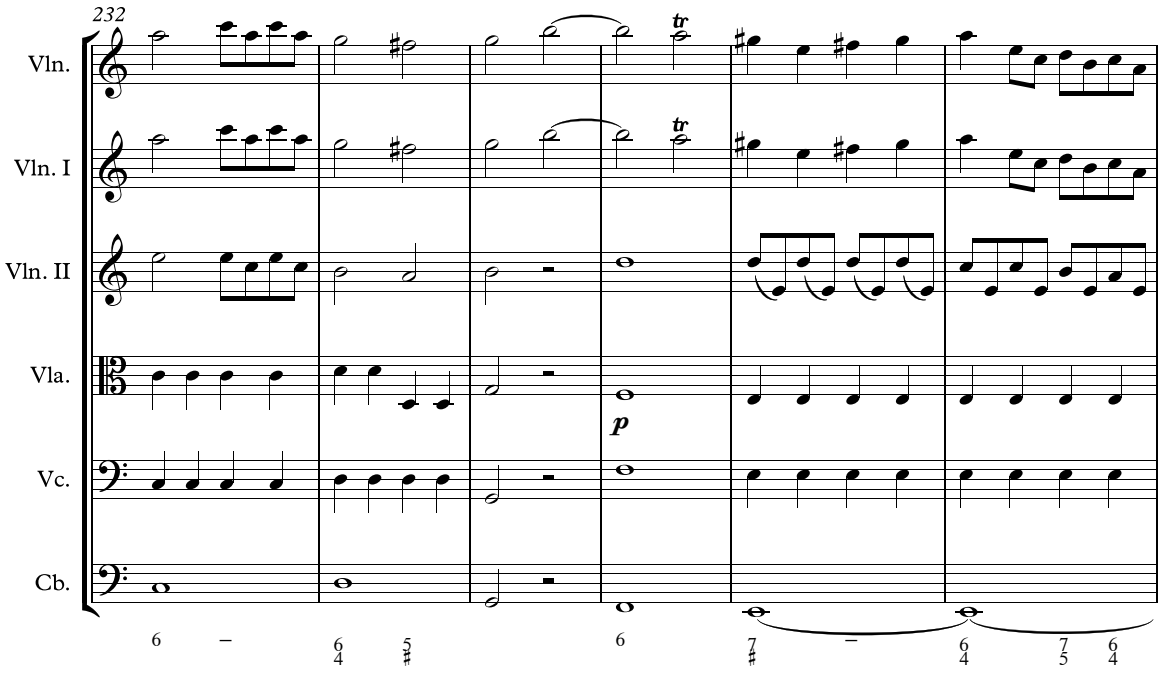

202
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

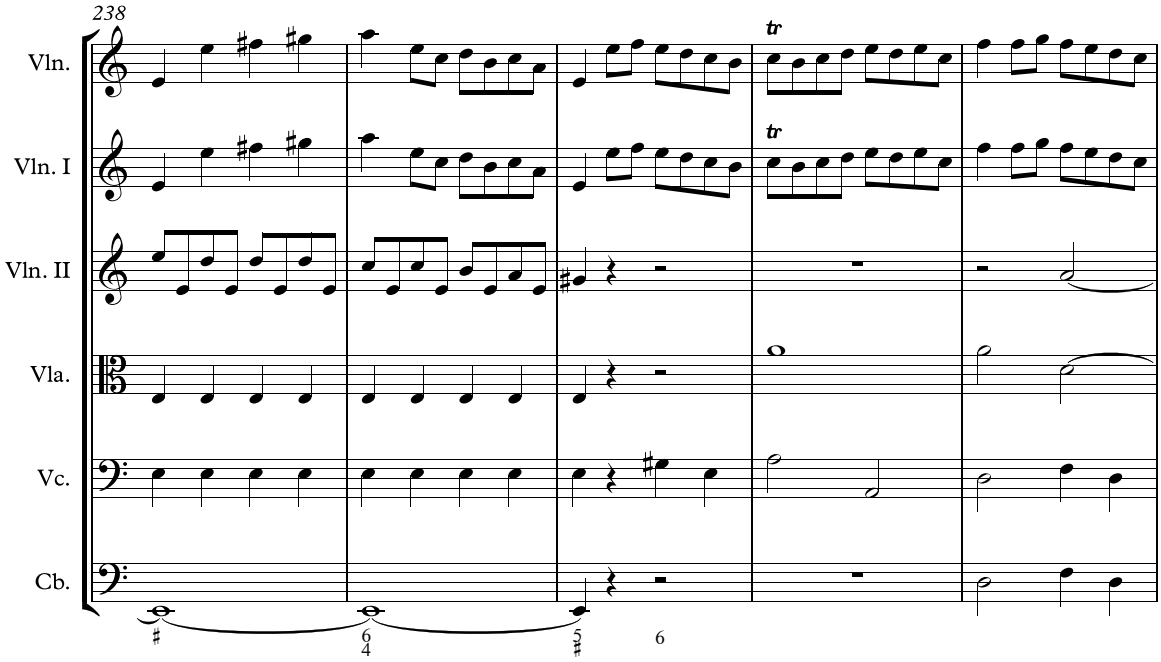

207
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

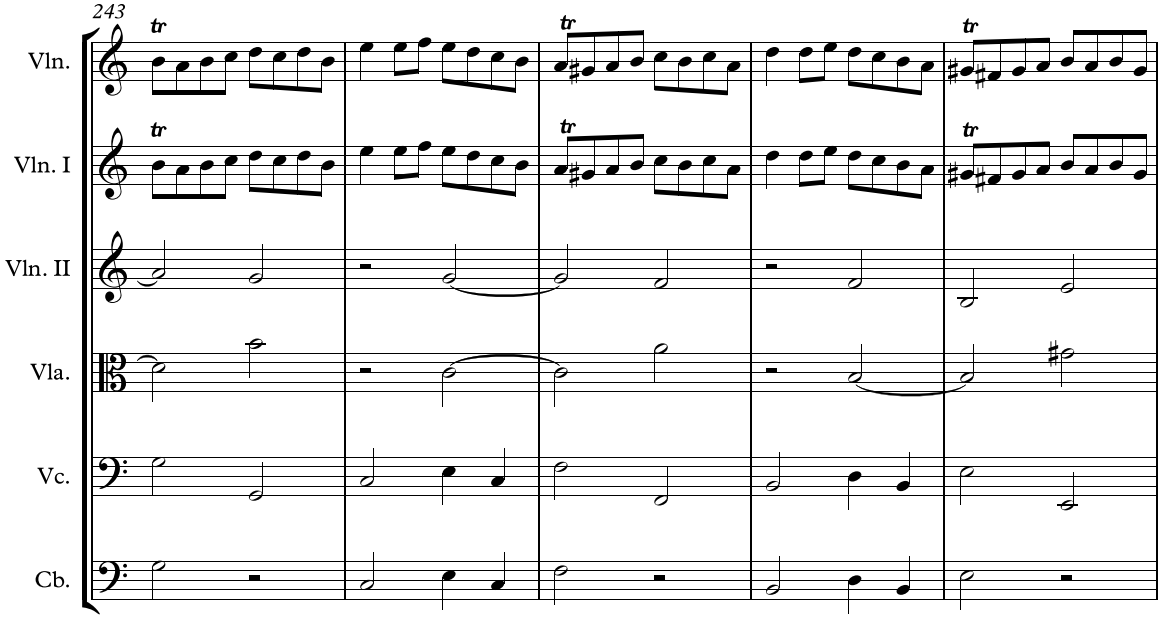

212
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
Tutti
ff
f

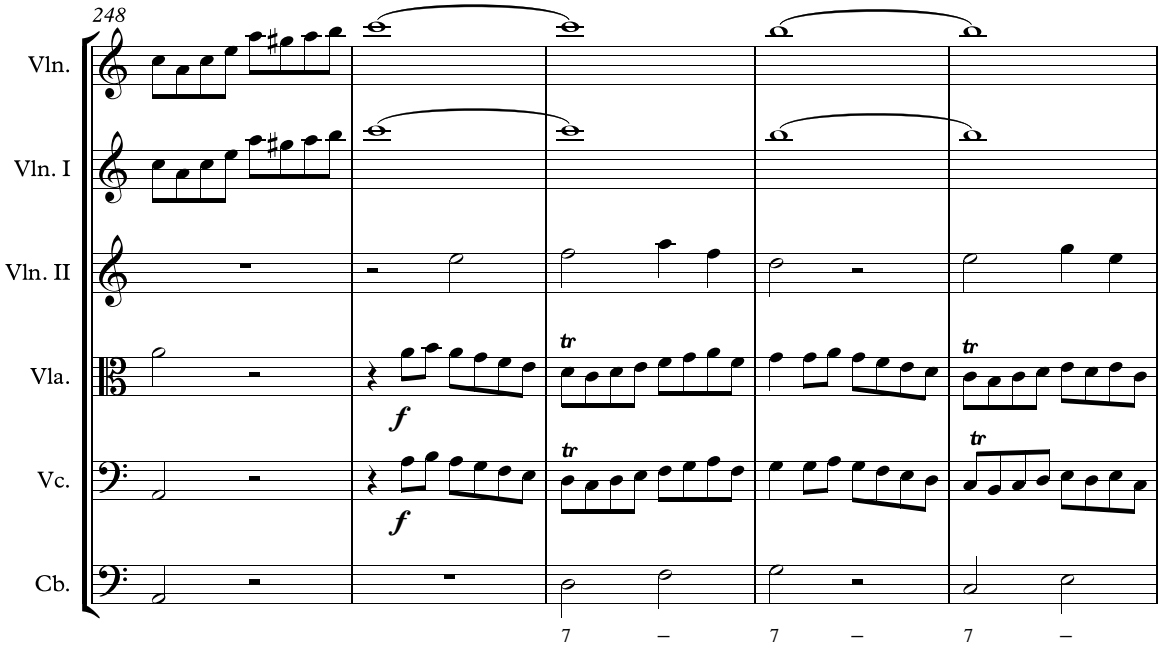

218
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7 6 3
4 5
7 6 3 6
4 5

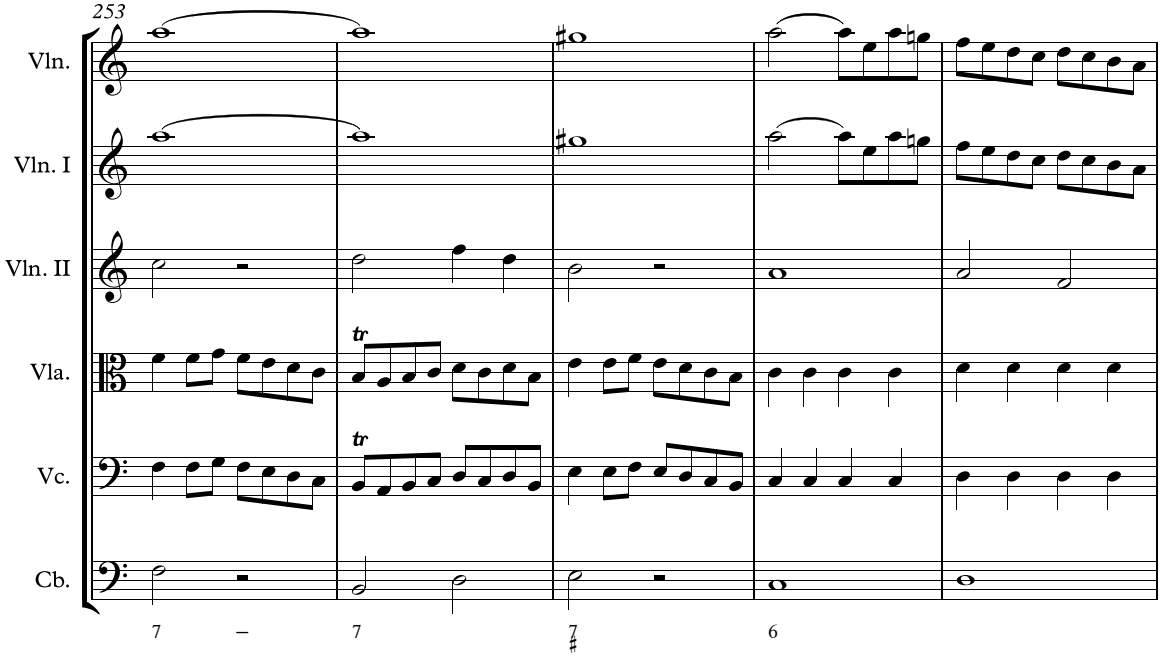

225
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

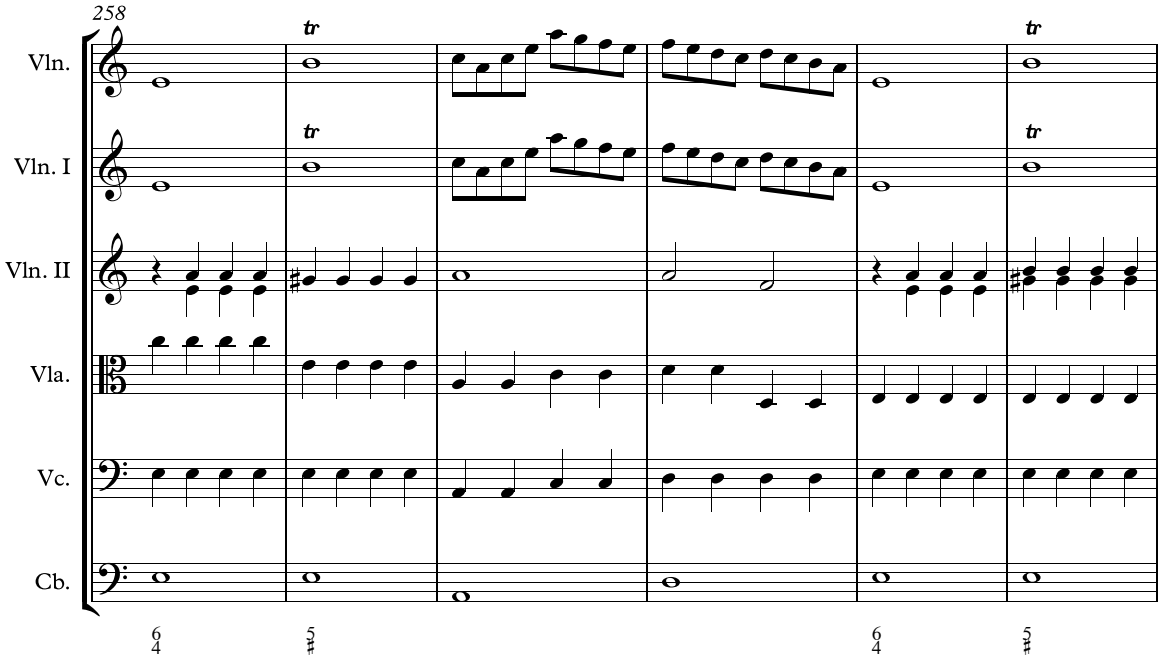

232
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
p

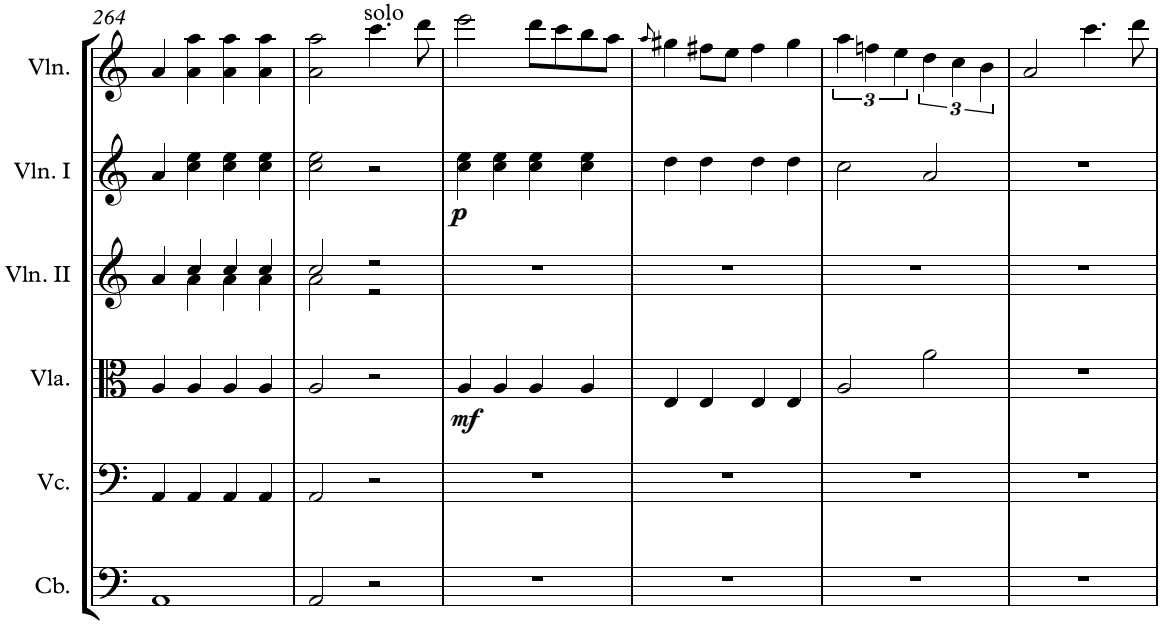

238
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
6
4
5
6

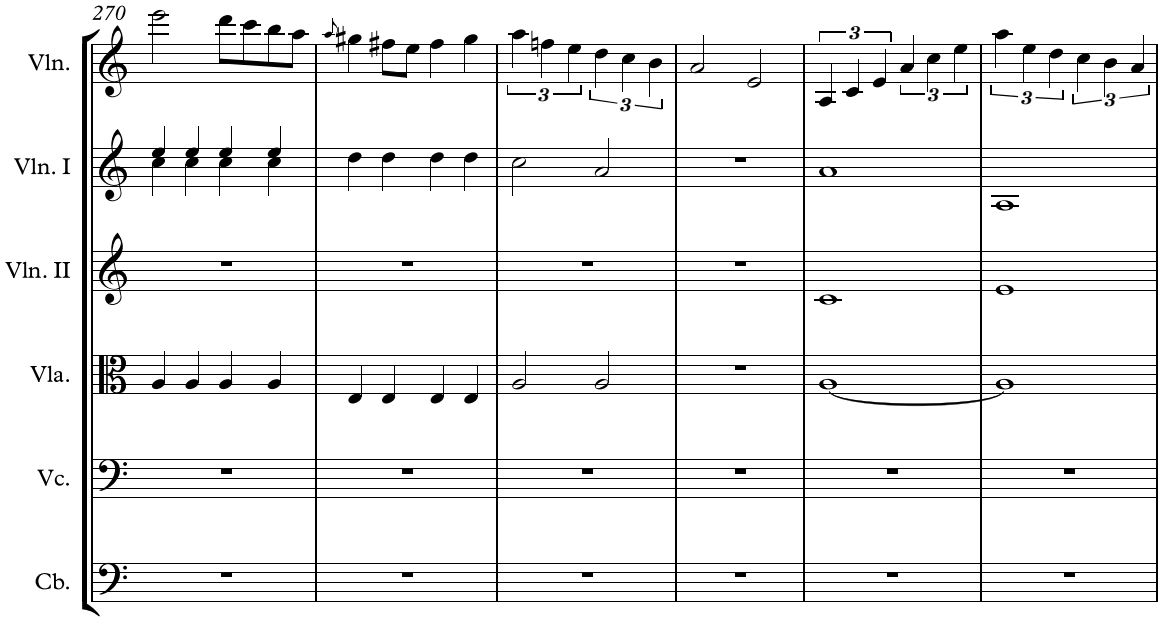

243
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr
tr
tr
tr

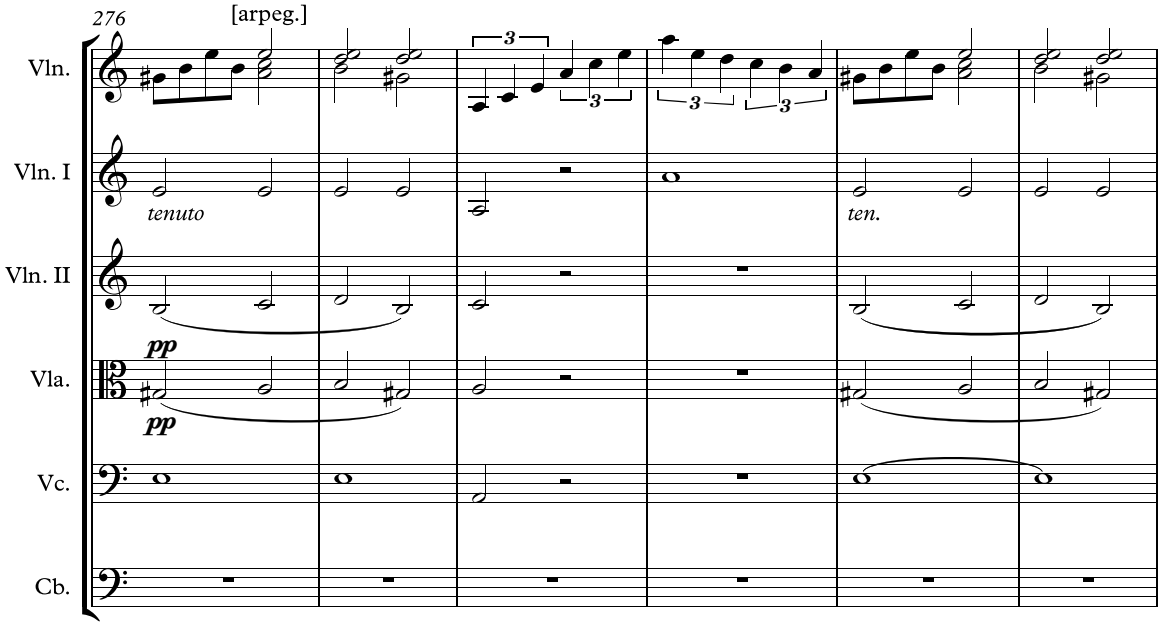

248
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f
f
tr
7 – 7 – 7 –

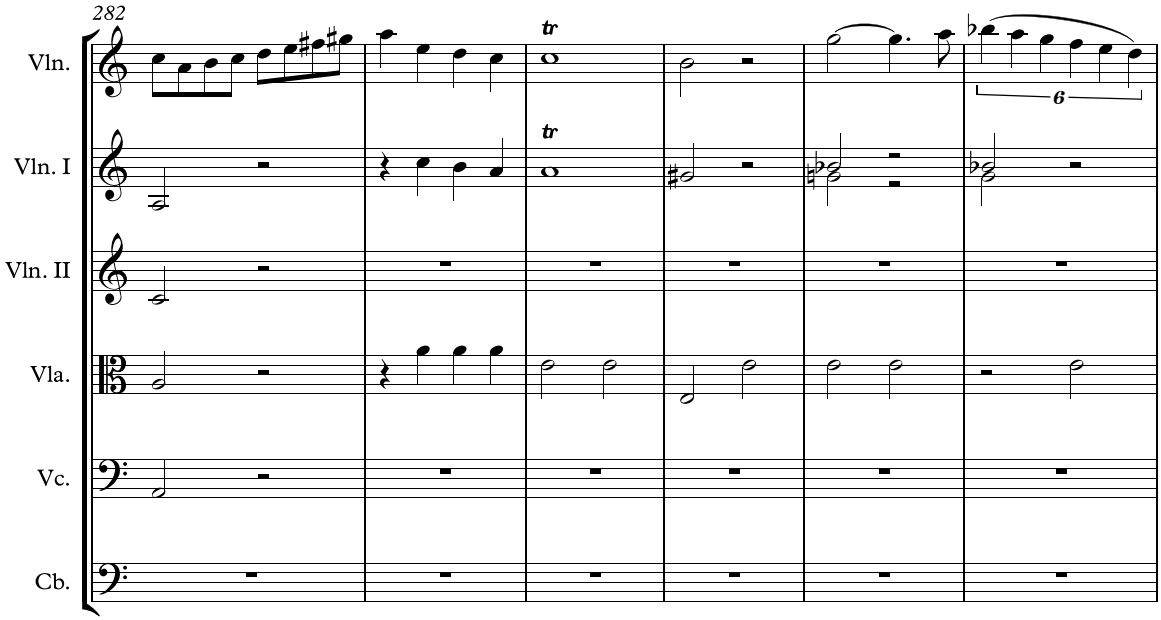

253
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
7 – 7 7 6

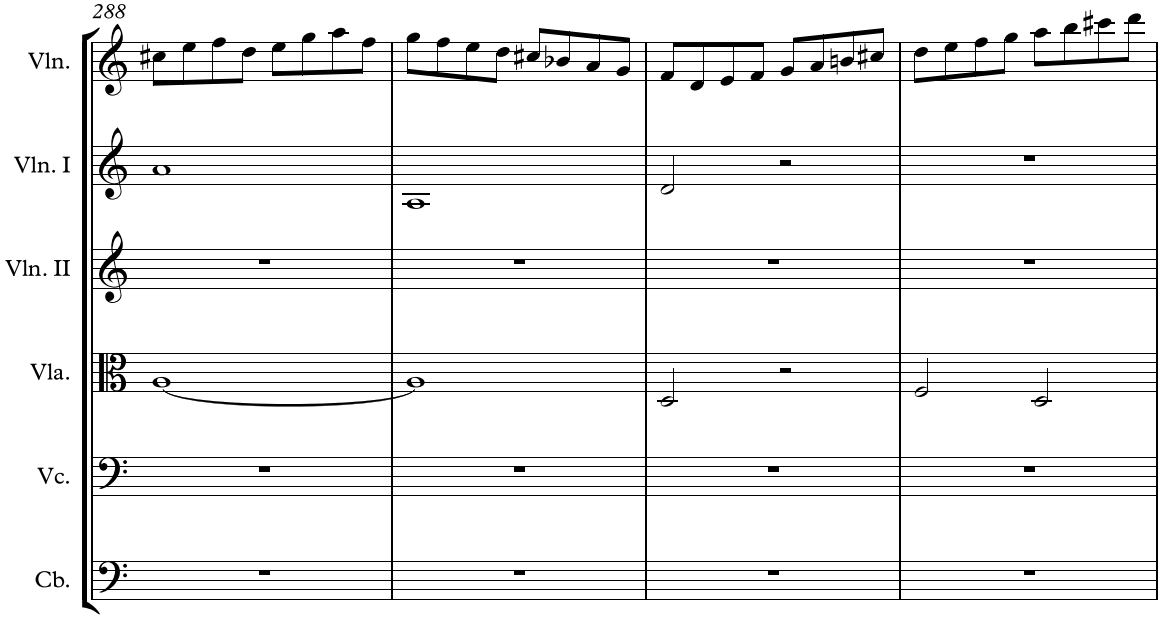

258
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
6/4
5♯

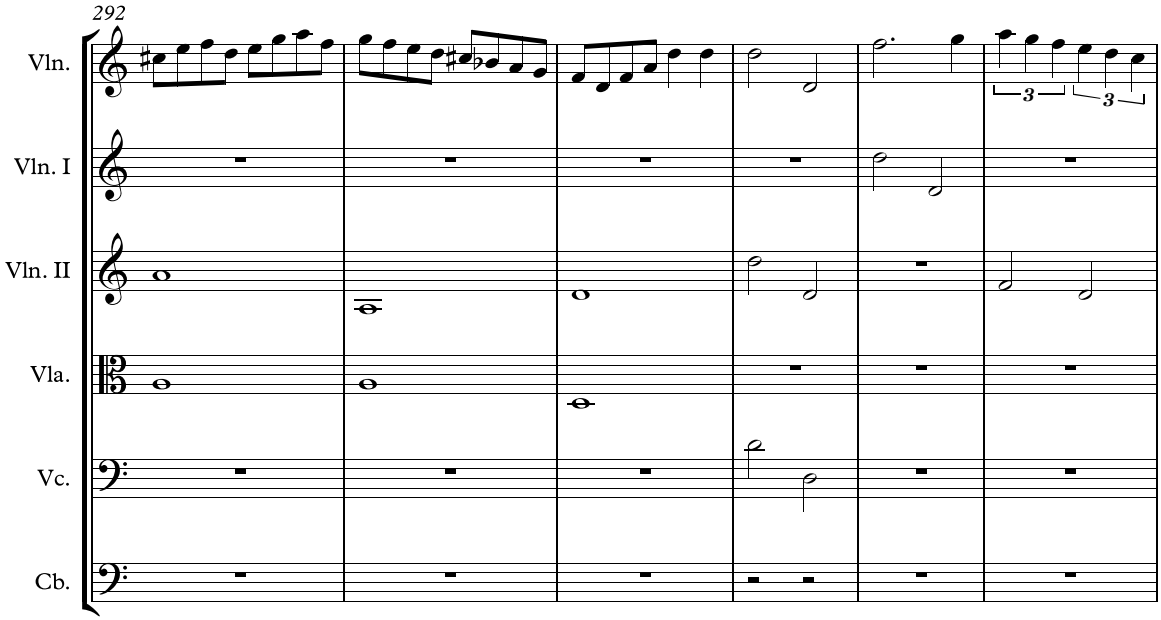

264
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
solo
p
mf
3
3

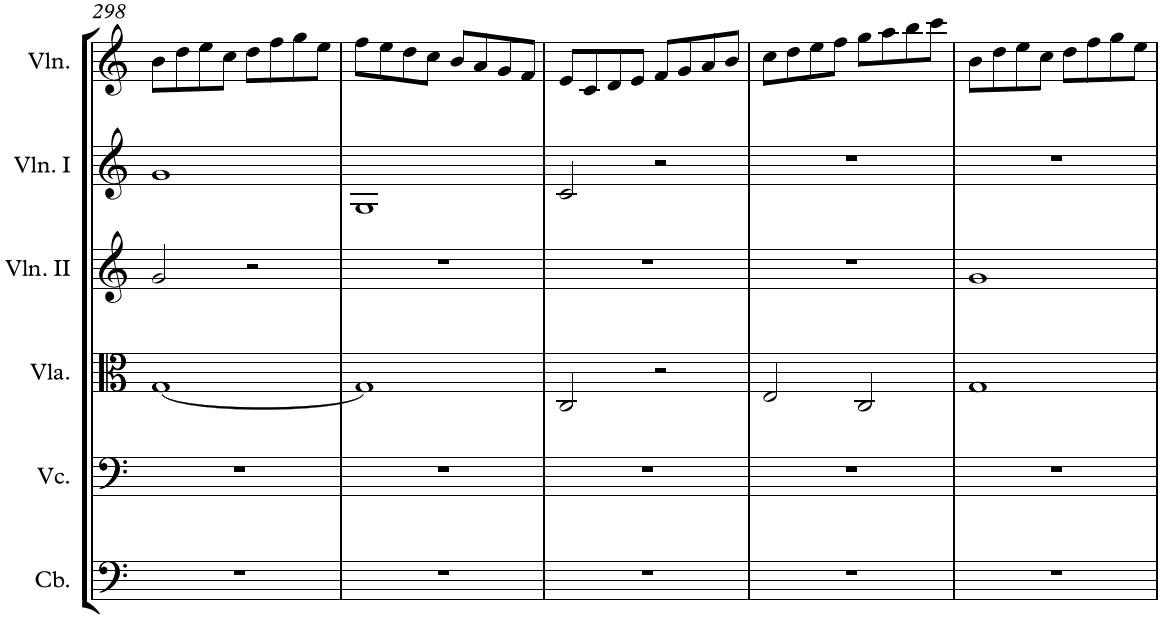

270
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

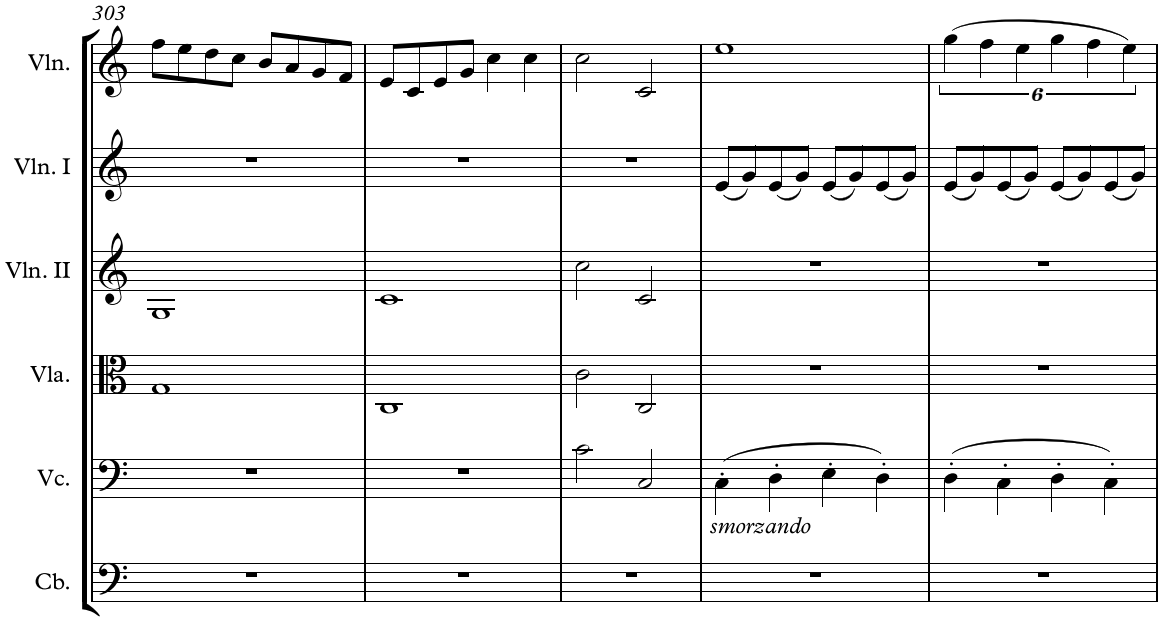

276
[arpeg.]
Vln.
Vln. I
tenuto
ten.
Vln. II
pp
pp
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

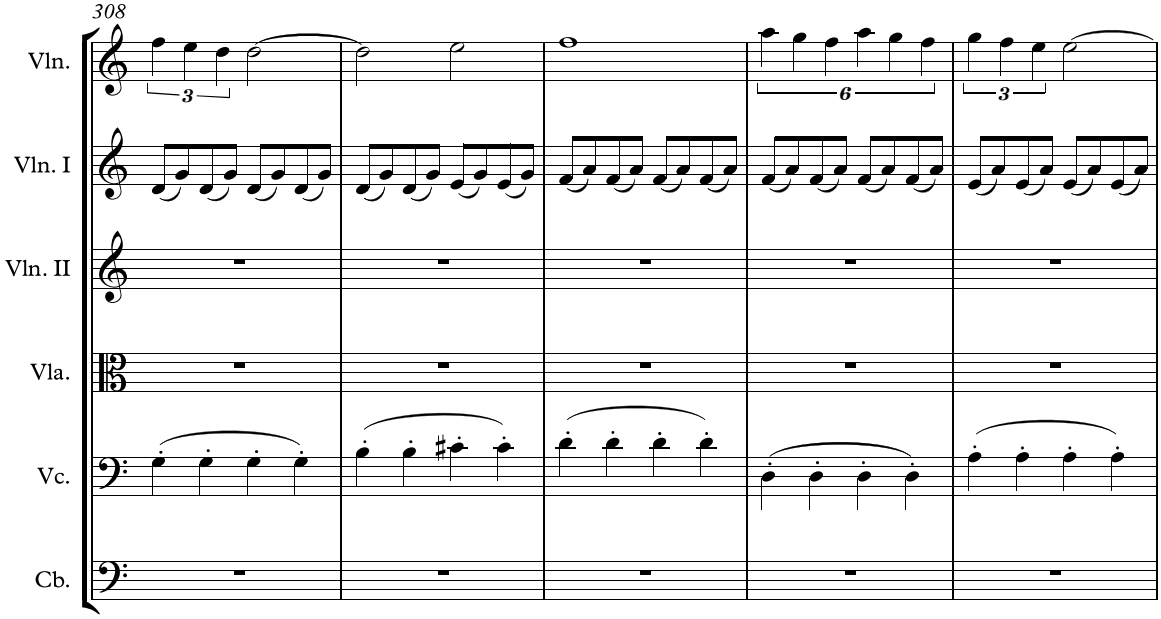

282
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
6

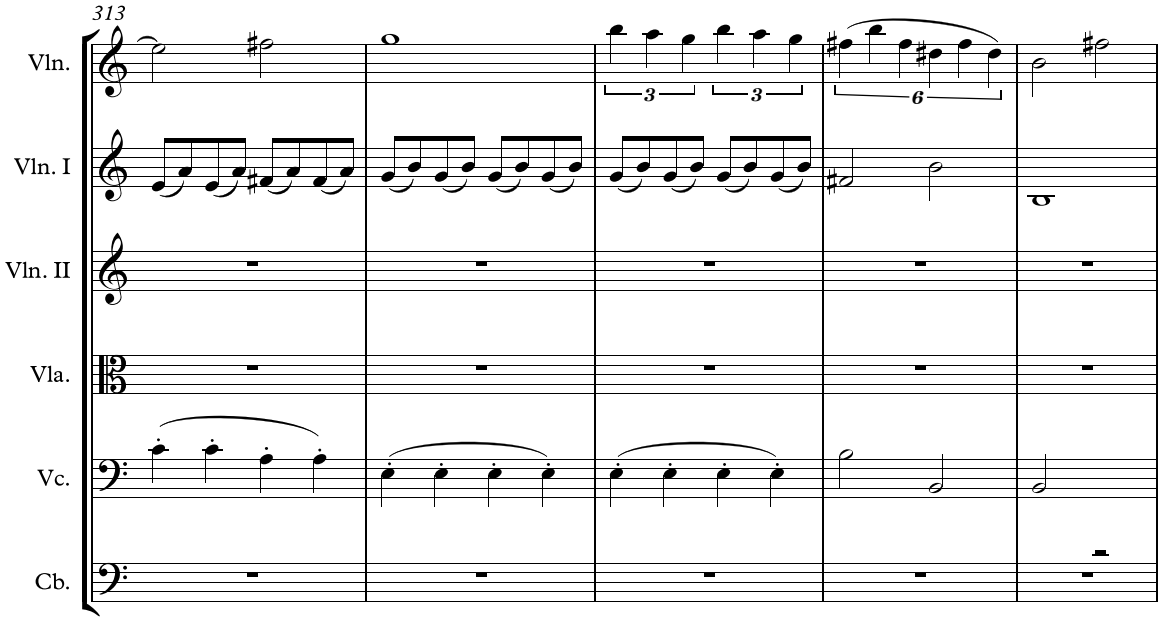

288
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

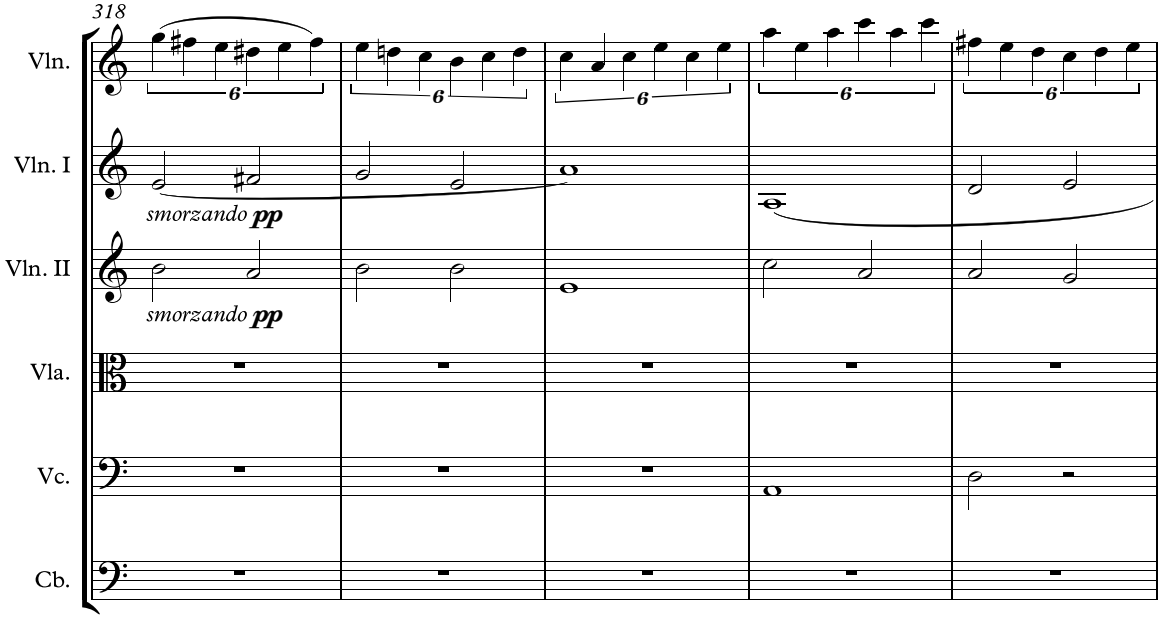

292
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
3
3

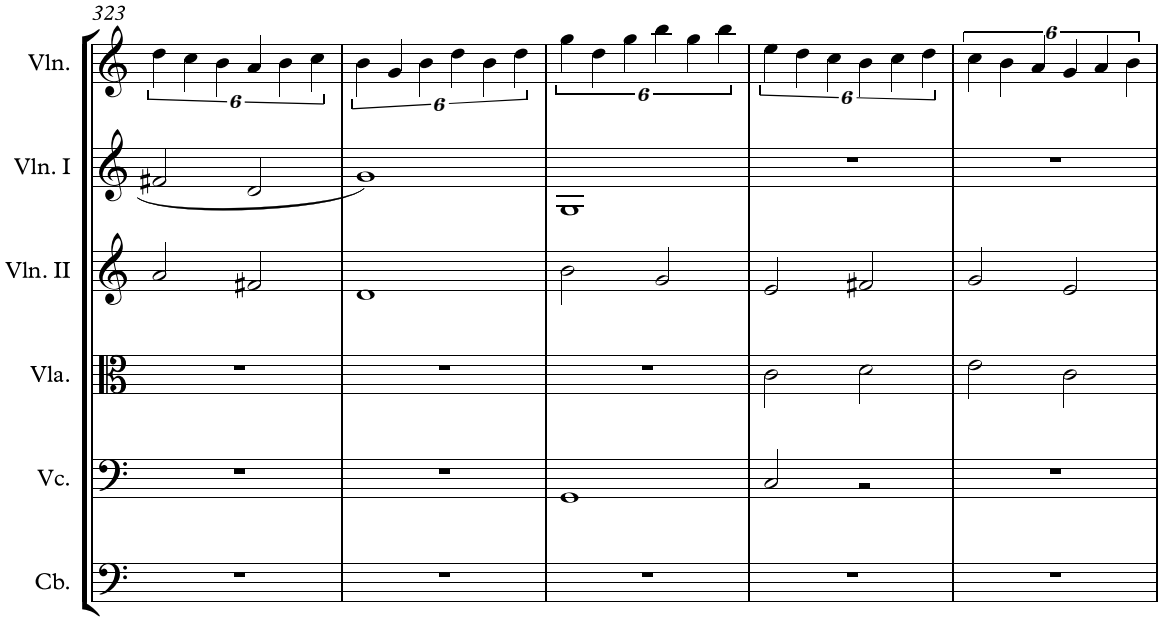

298
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

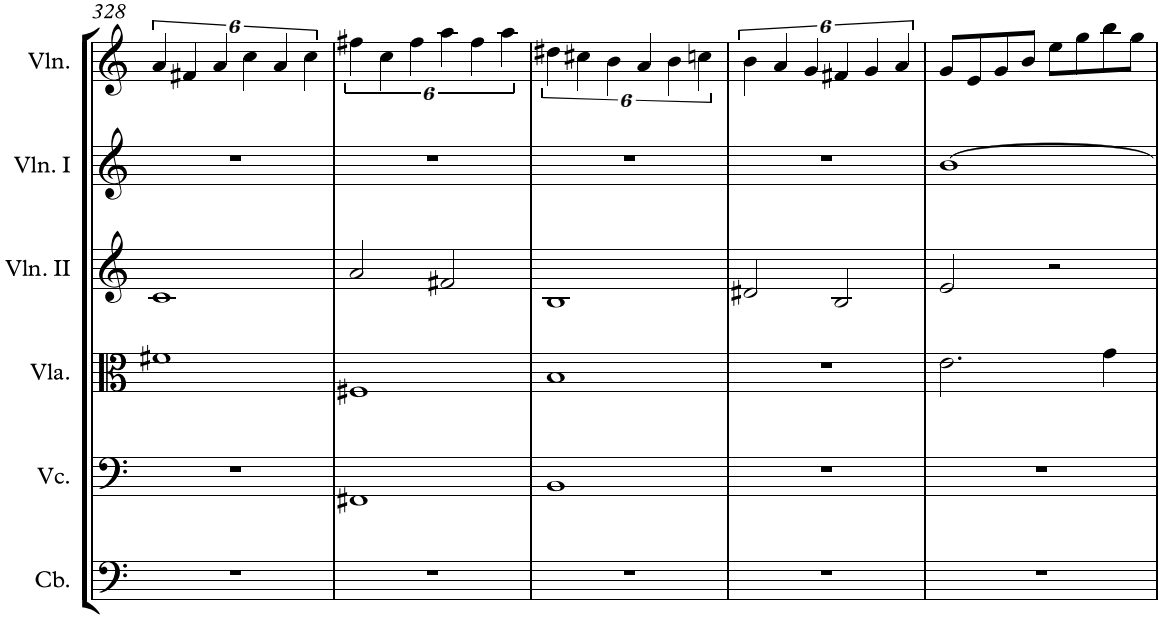

303
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6
smorzando

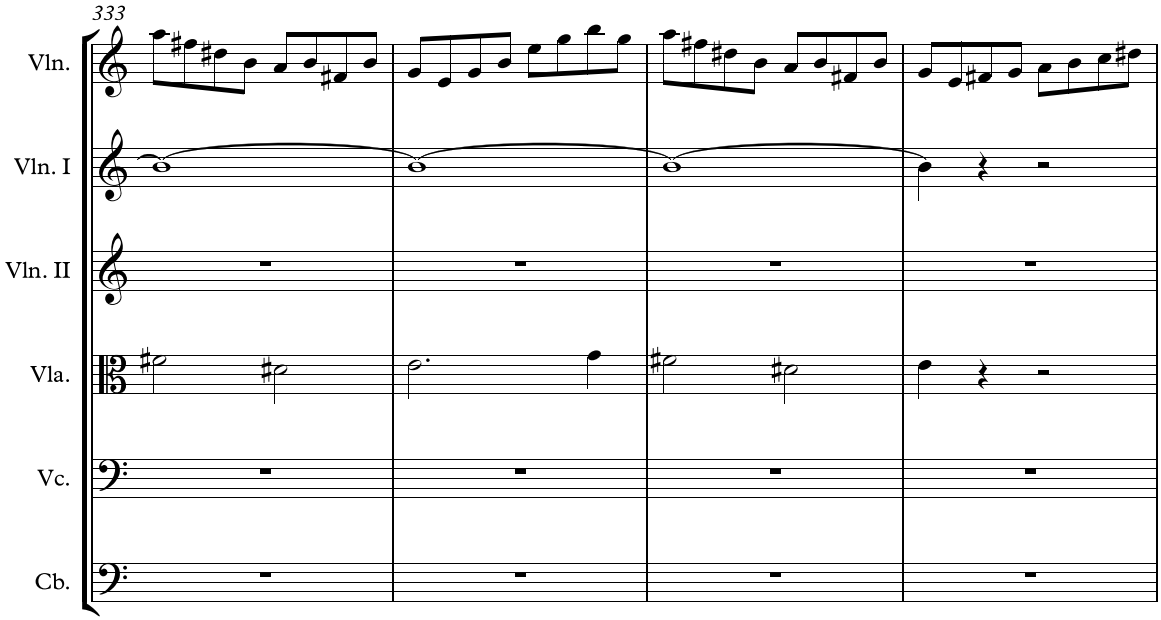

308
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
3
6
3

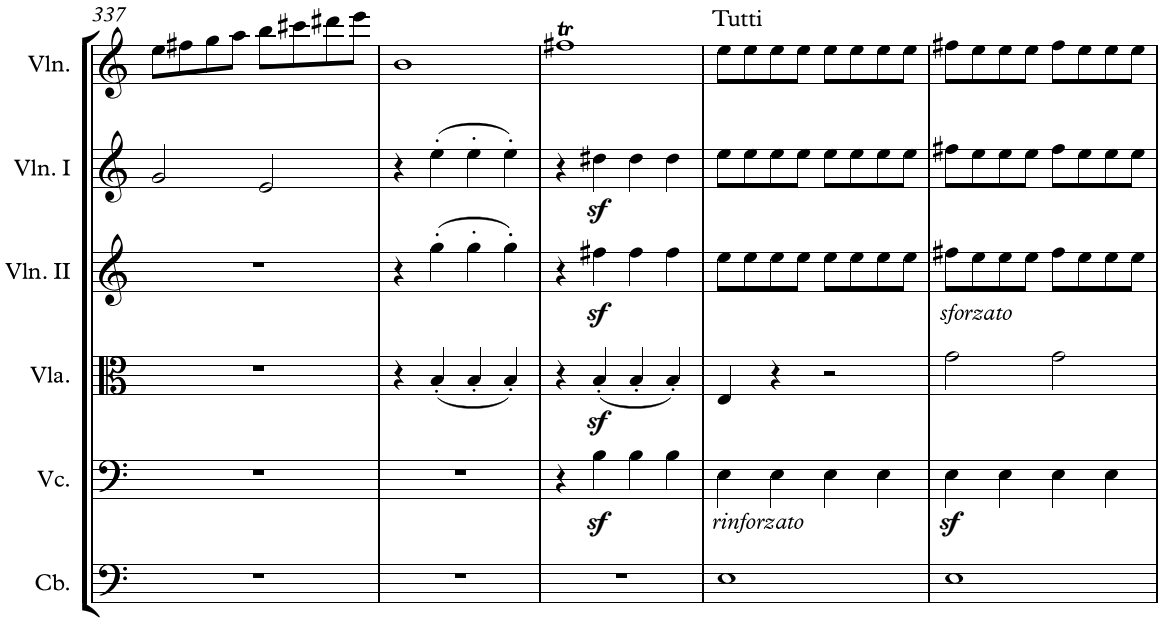

313
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
3
3
6

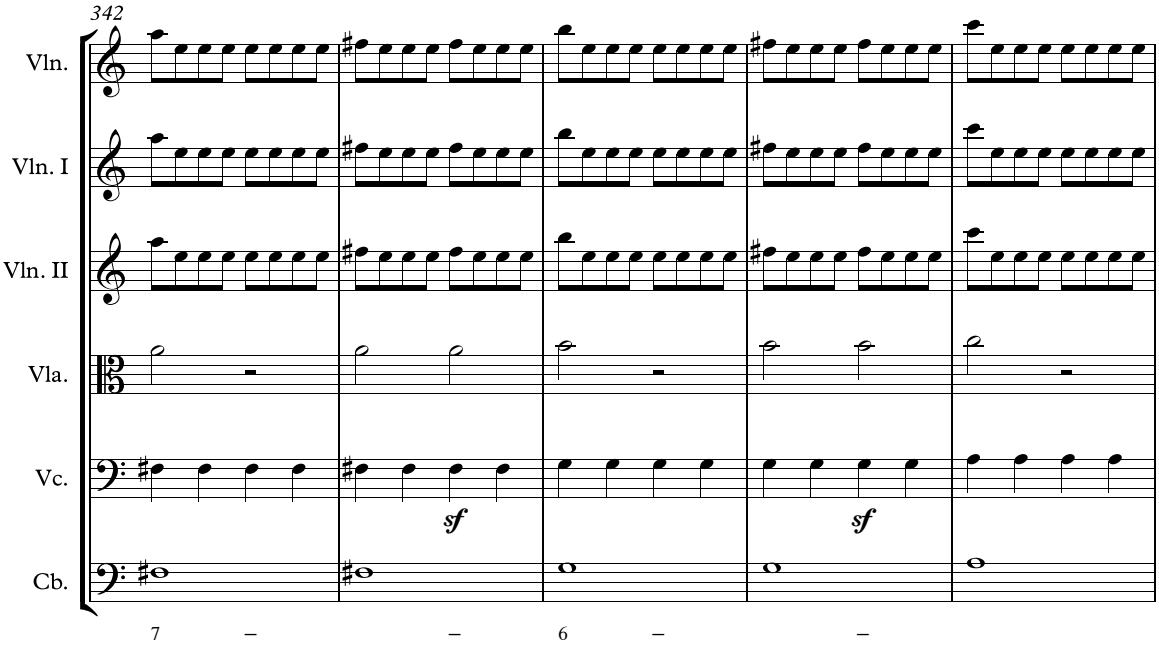

318
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6
6
6
6
6
smorzando pp
smorzando pp

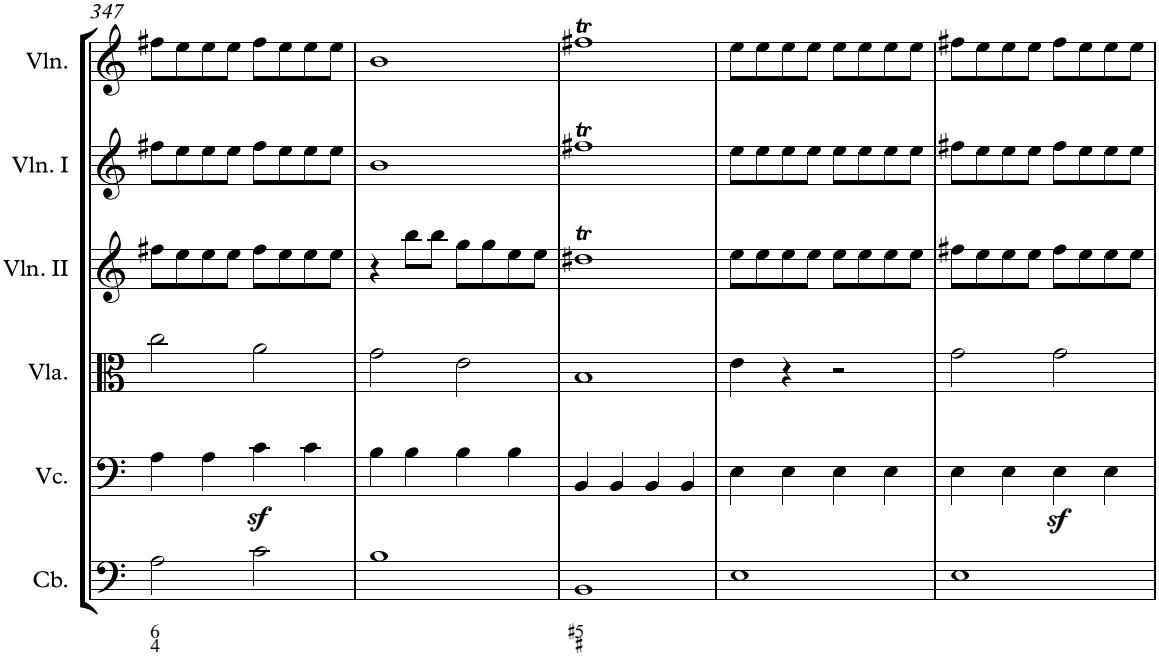

323
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

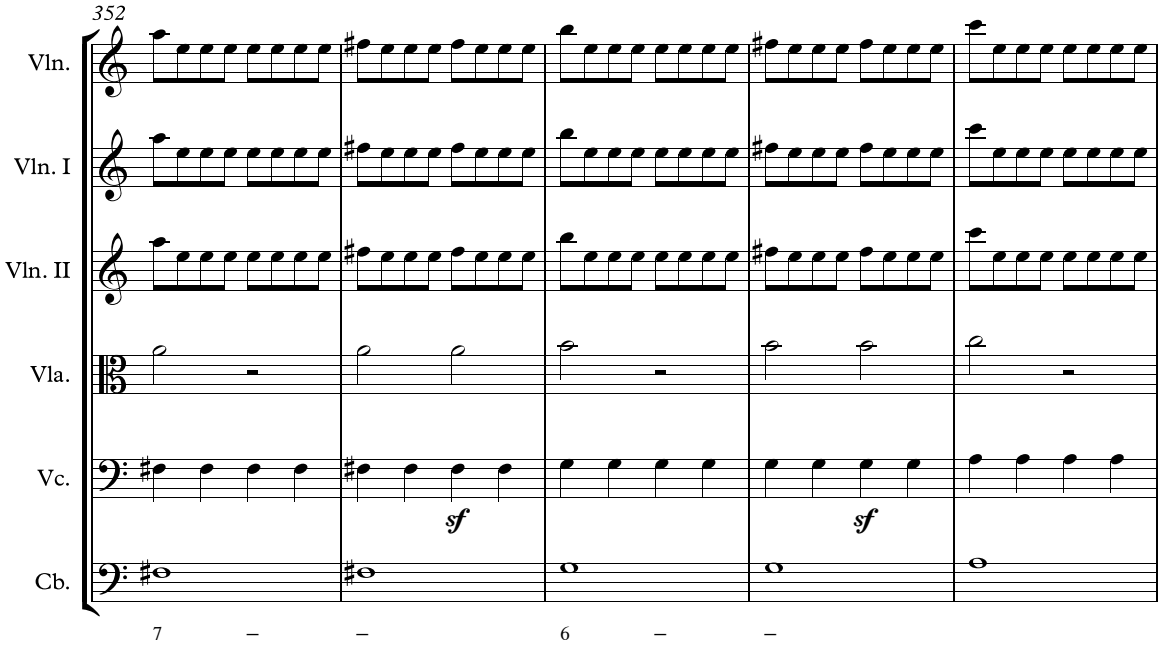

328
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

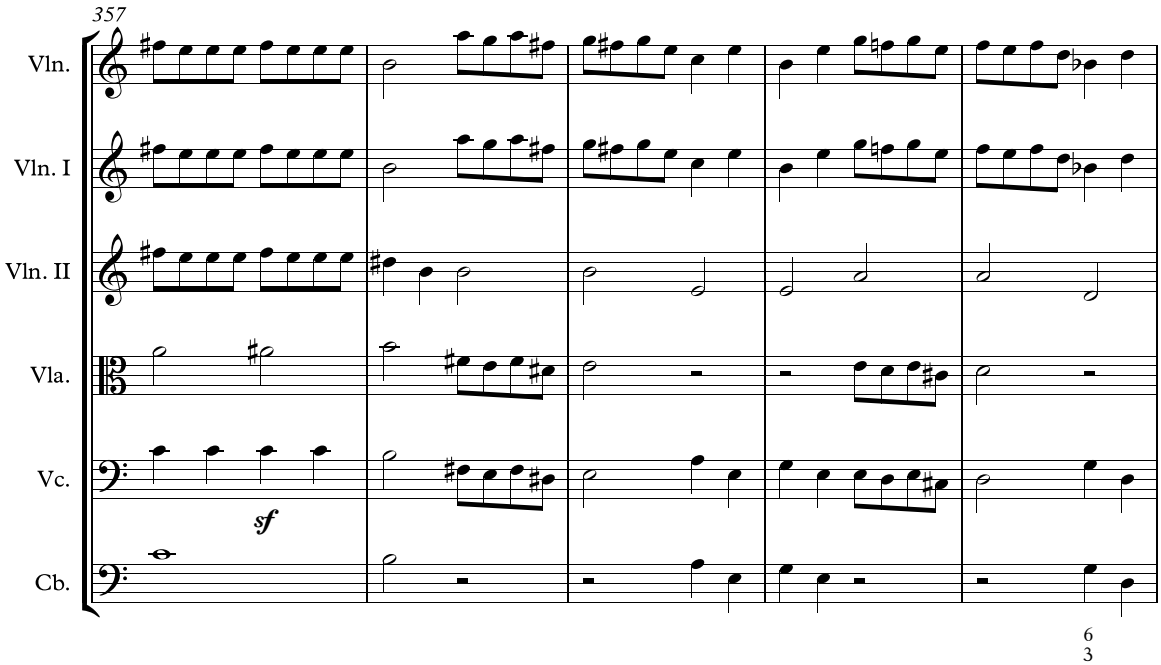

333
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

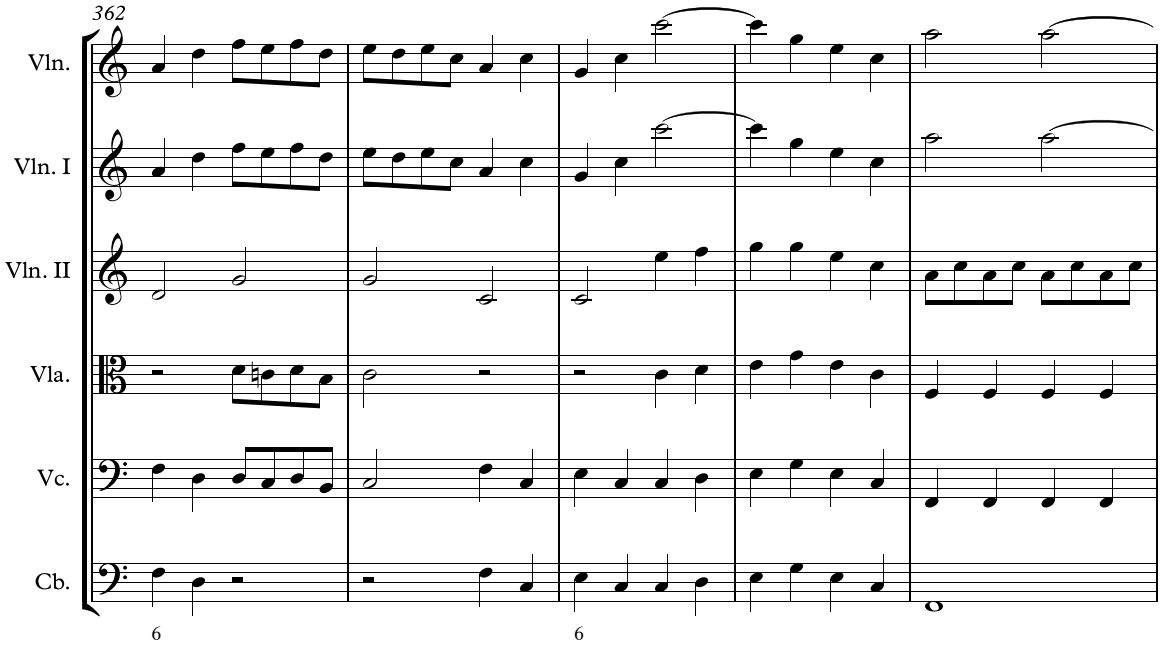

337
Tutti
tr
sf
sf
sf
sf
sforzato
rinforzato
sf
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

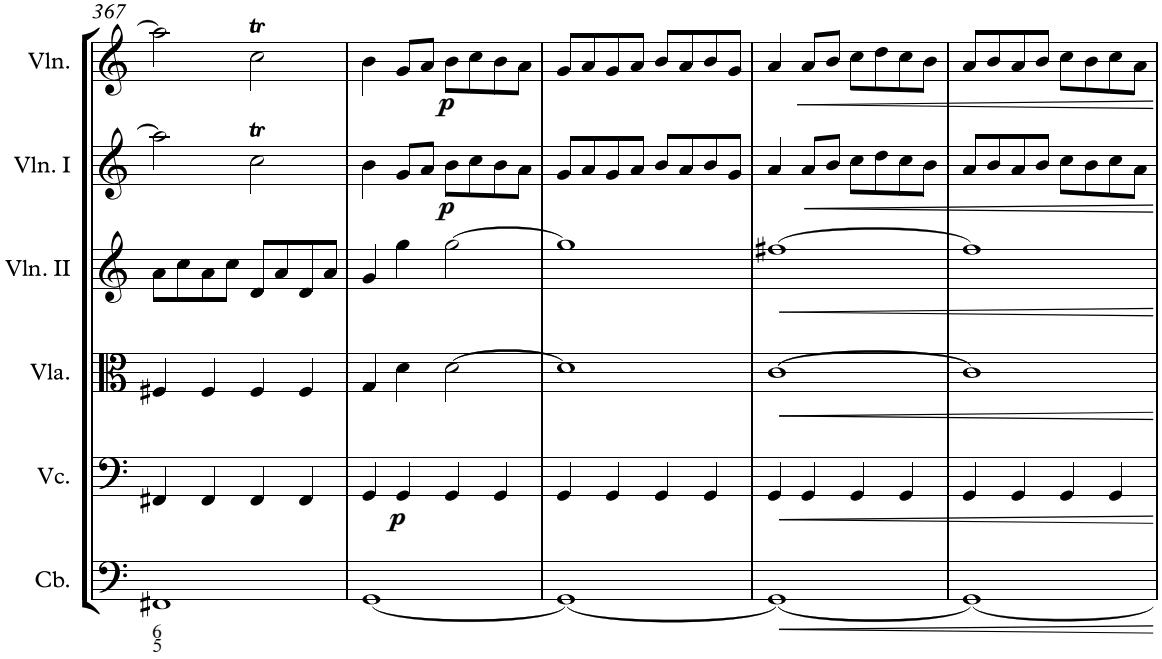

342
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
sf
sf
7
6

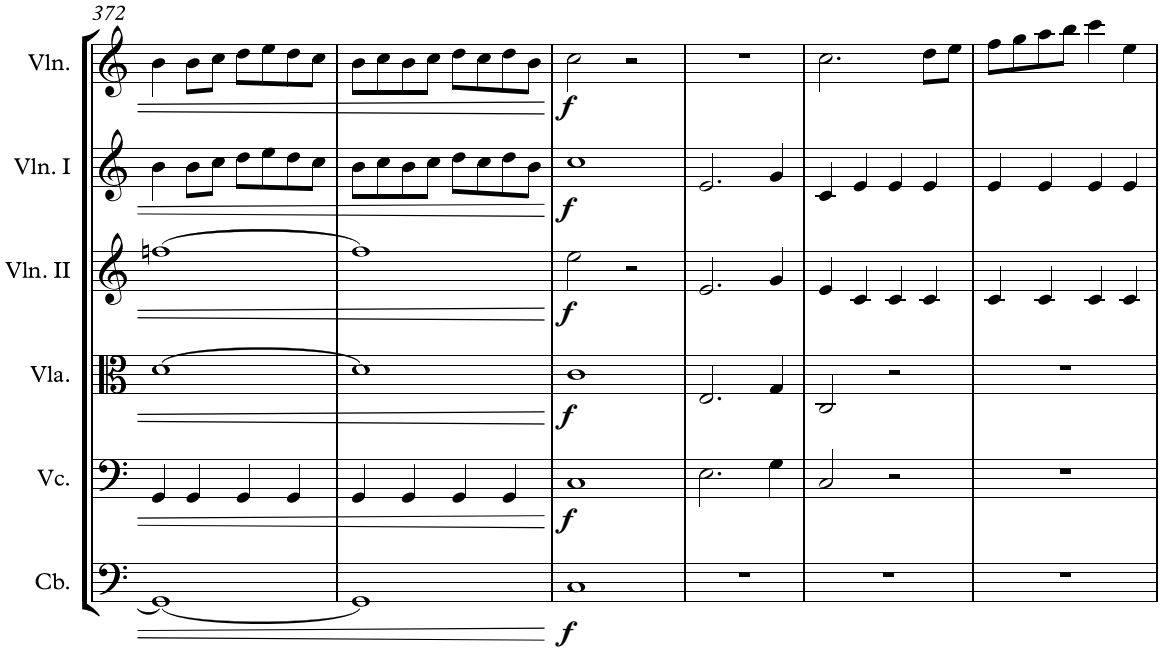

347
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr
sf
sf
6/4
5/♯

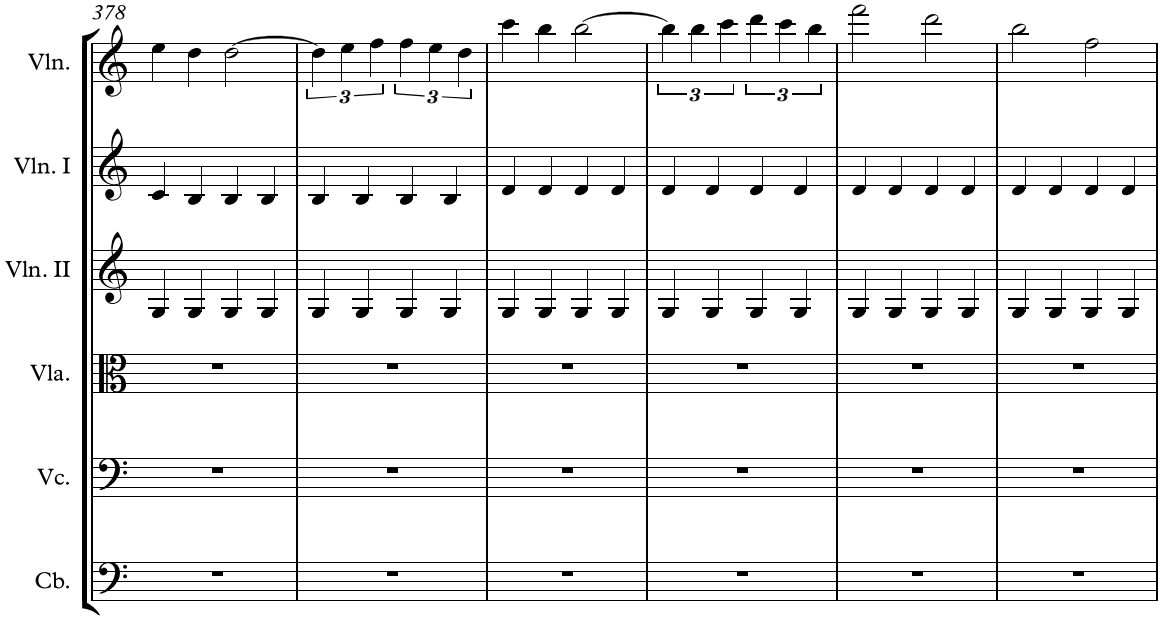

352
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
sf
sf
7
6

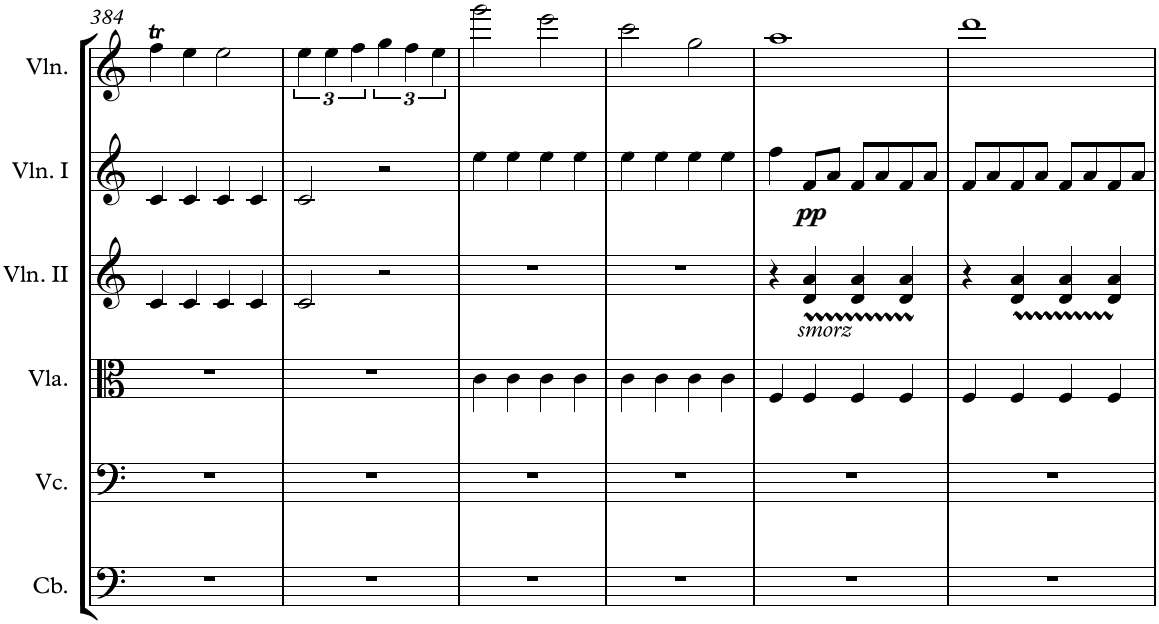

357
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
sf
6
3

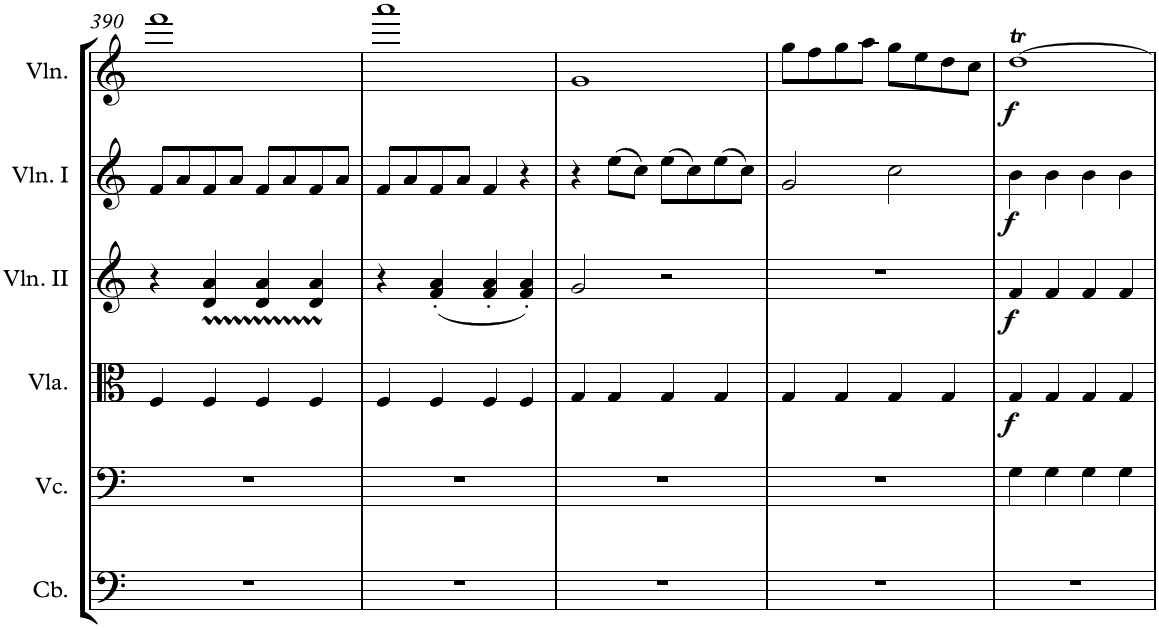

362
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6
6

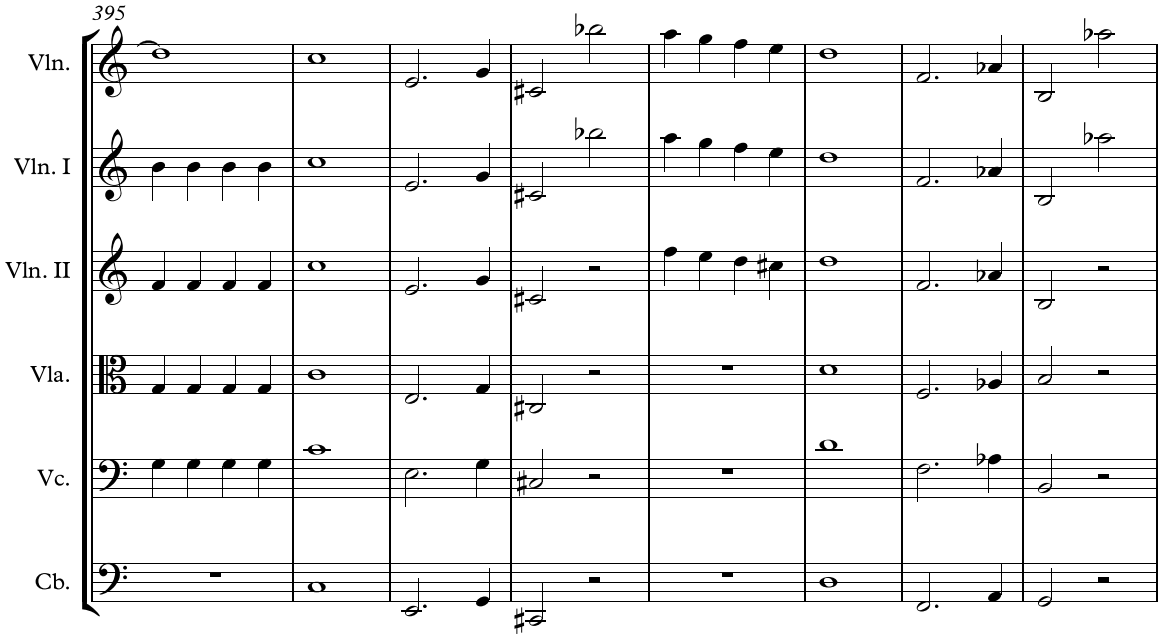

367
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
p
p
p
6
5

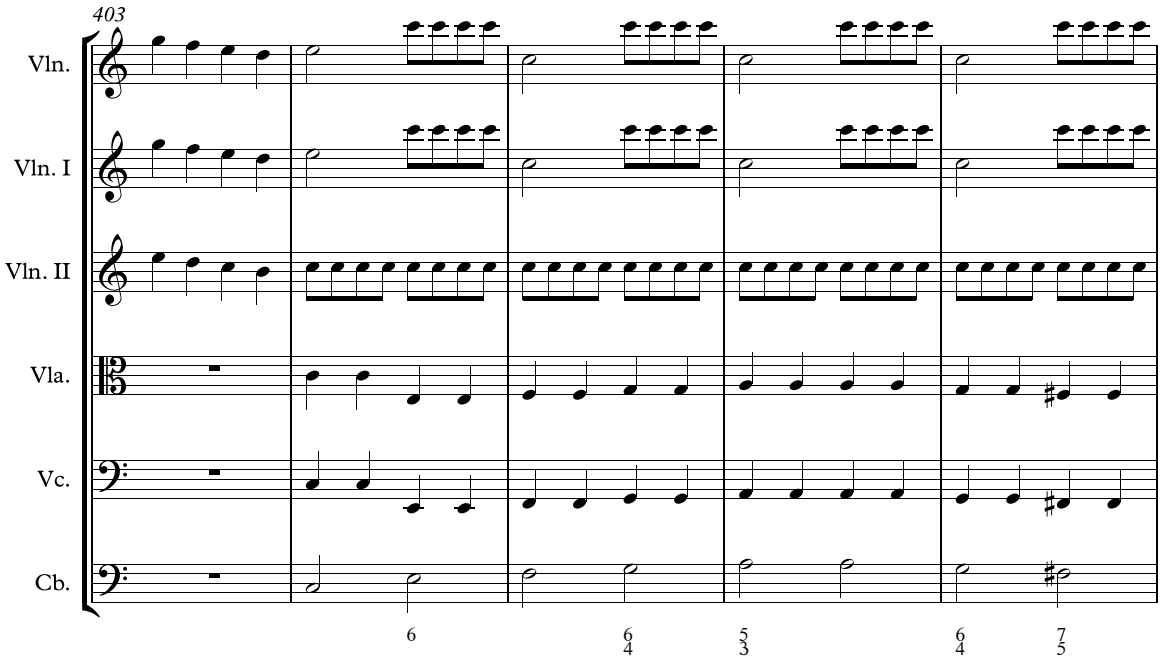

372
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f

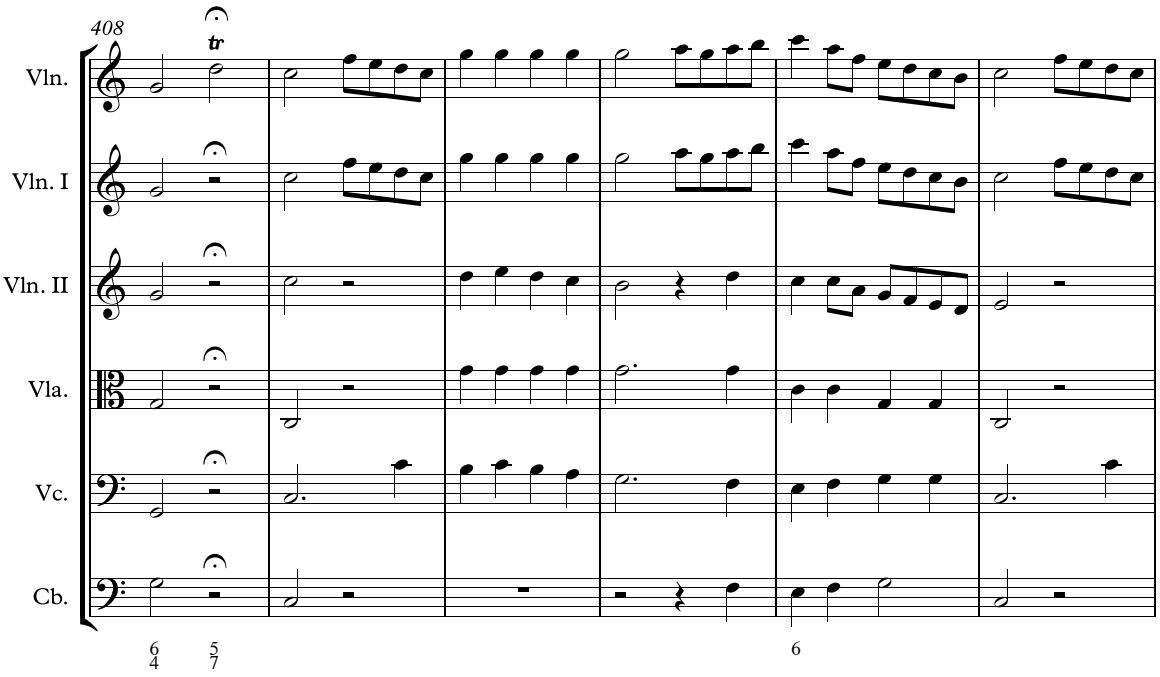

378
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
3

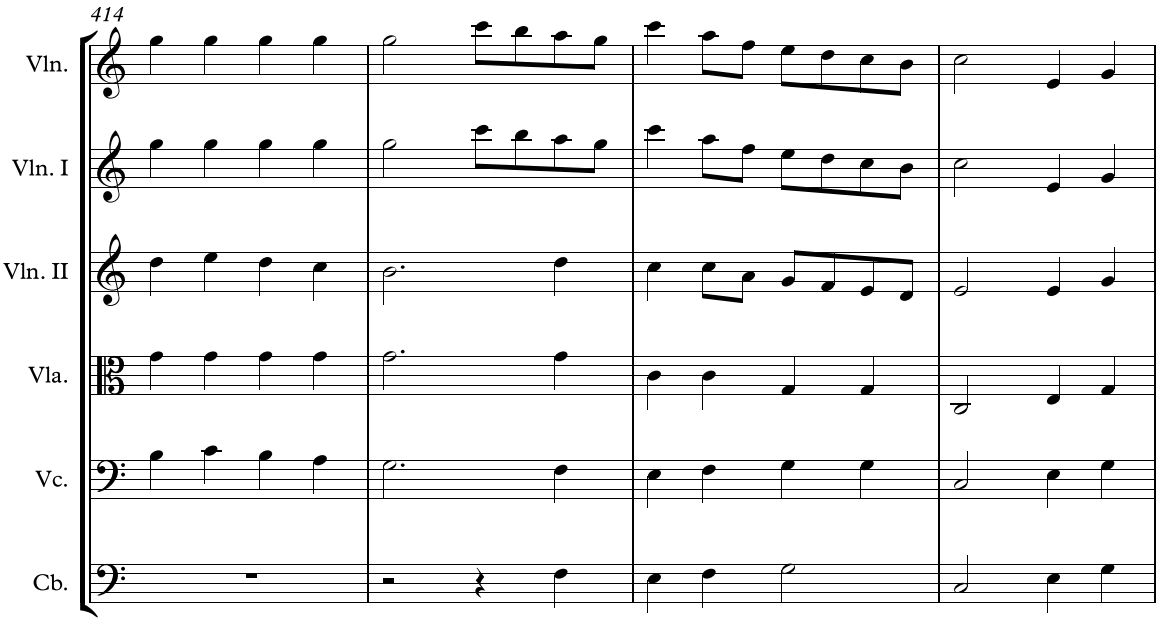

384
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
3
3
pp
smorz

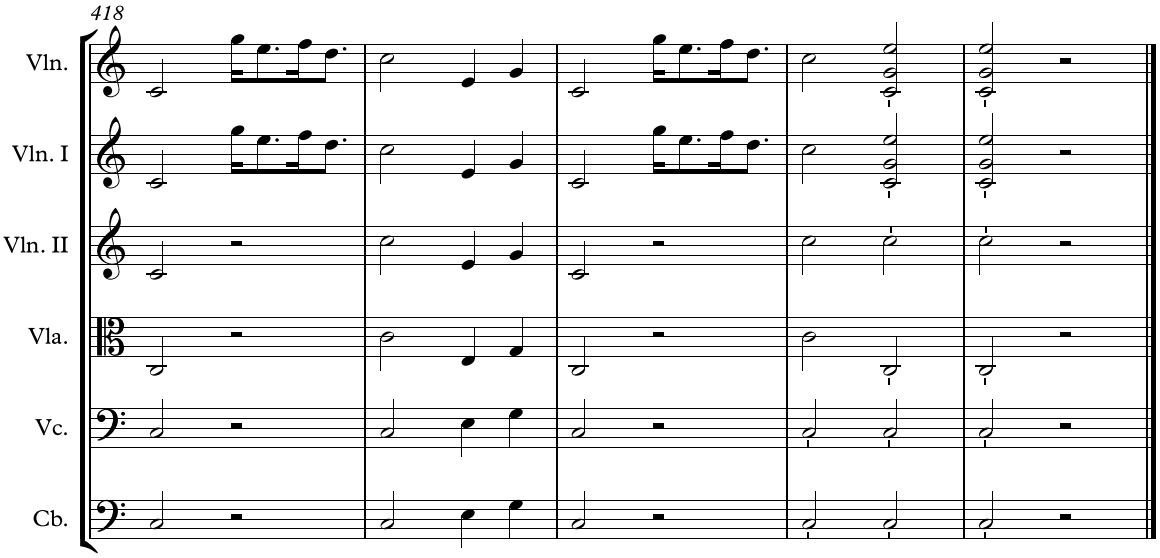

390
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f
f
f
f


395
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

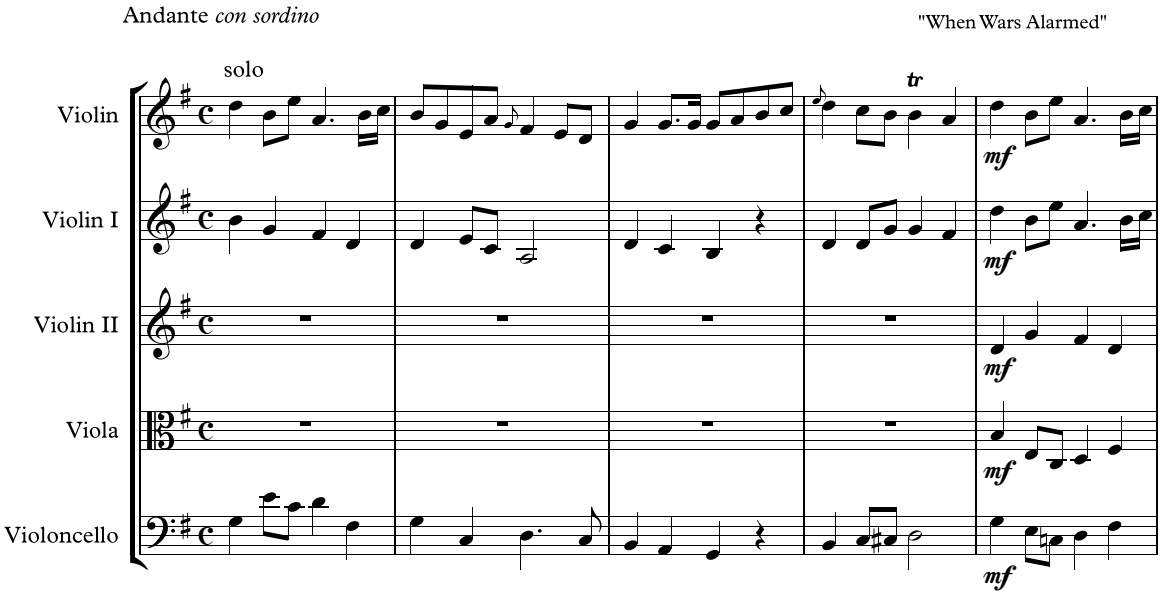

403
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6
6 4
5 3
6 4
7 5

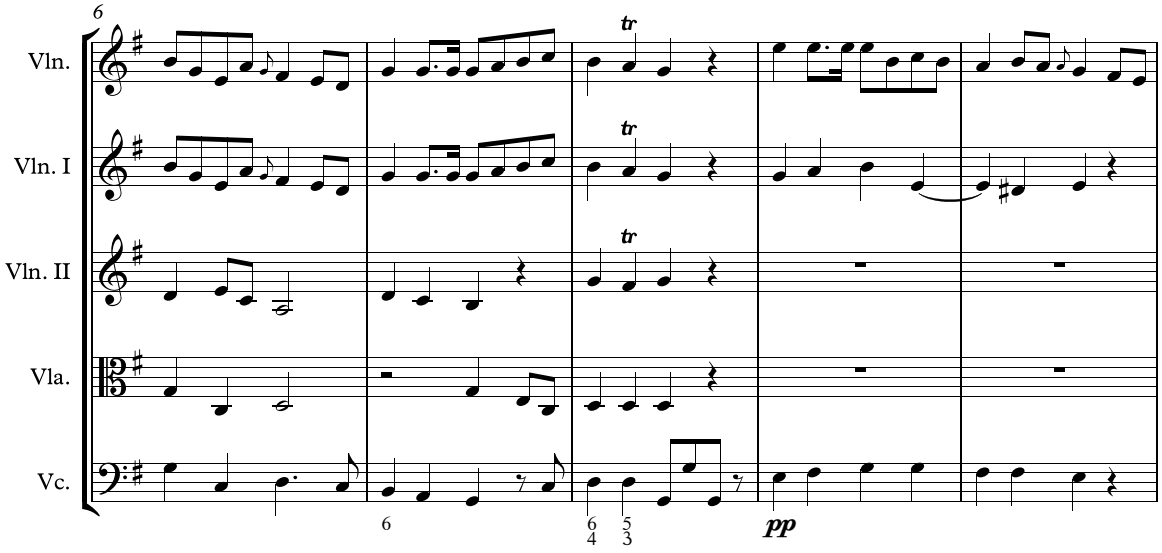

408
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
6
4
5
7
6

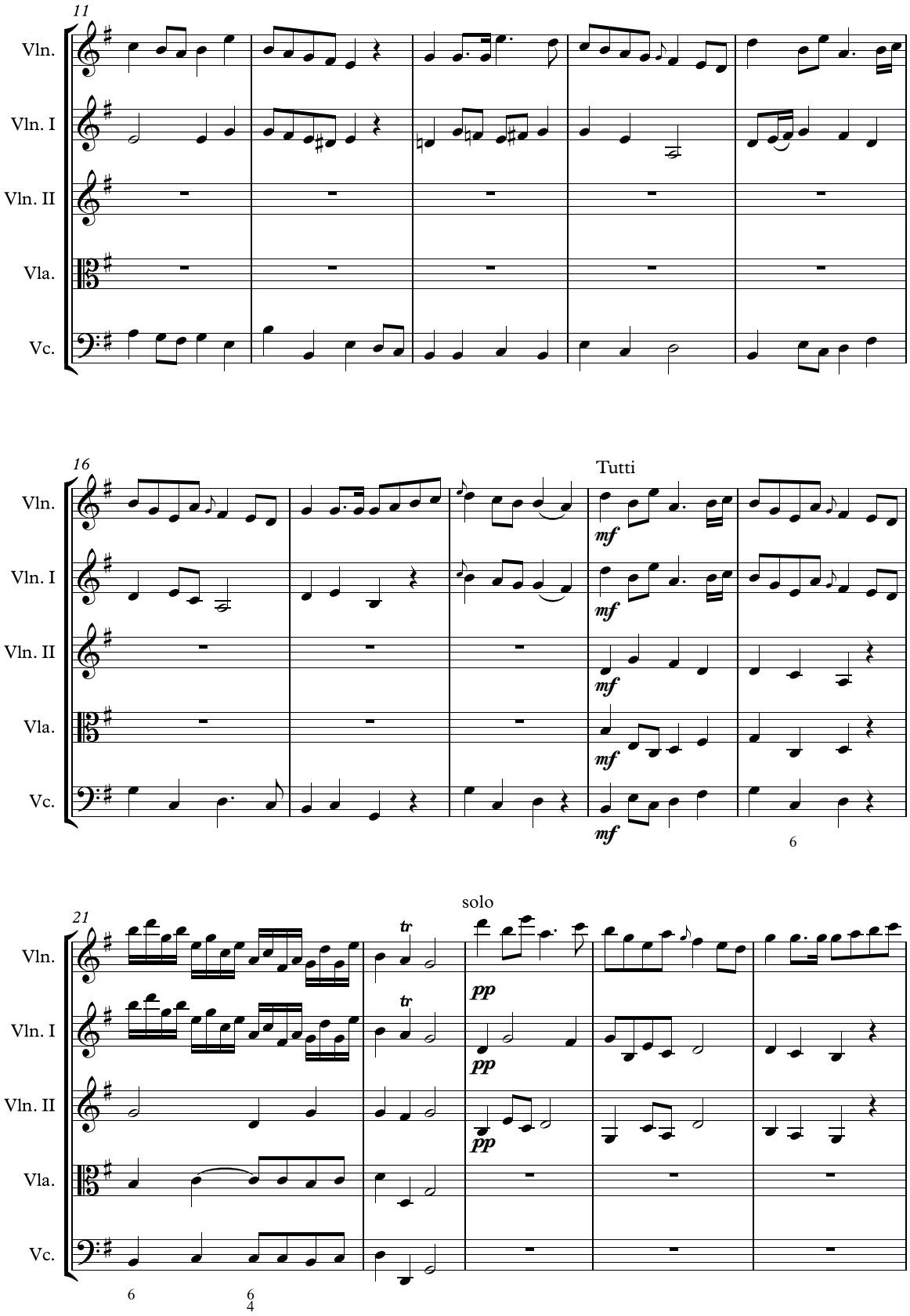

414
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

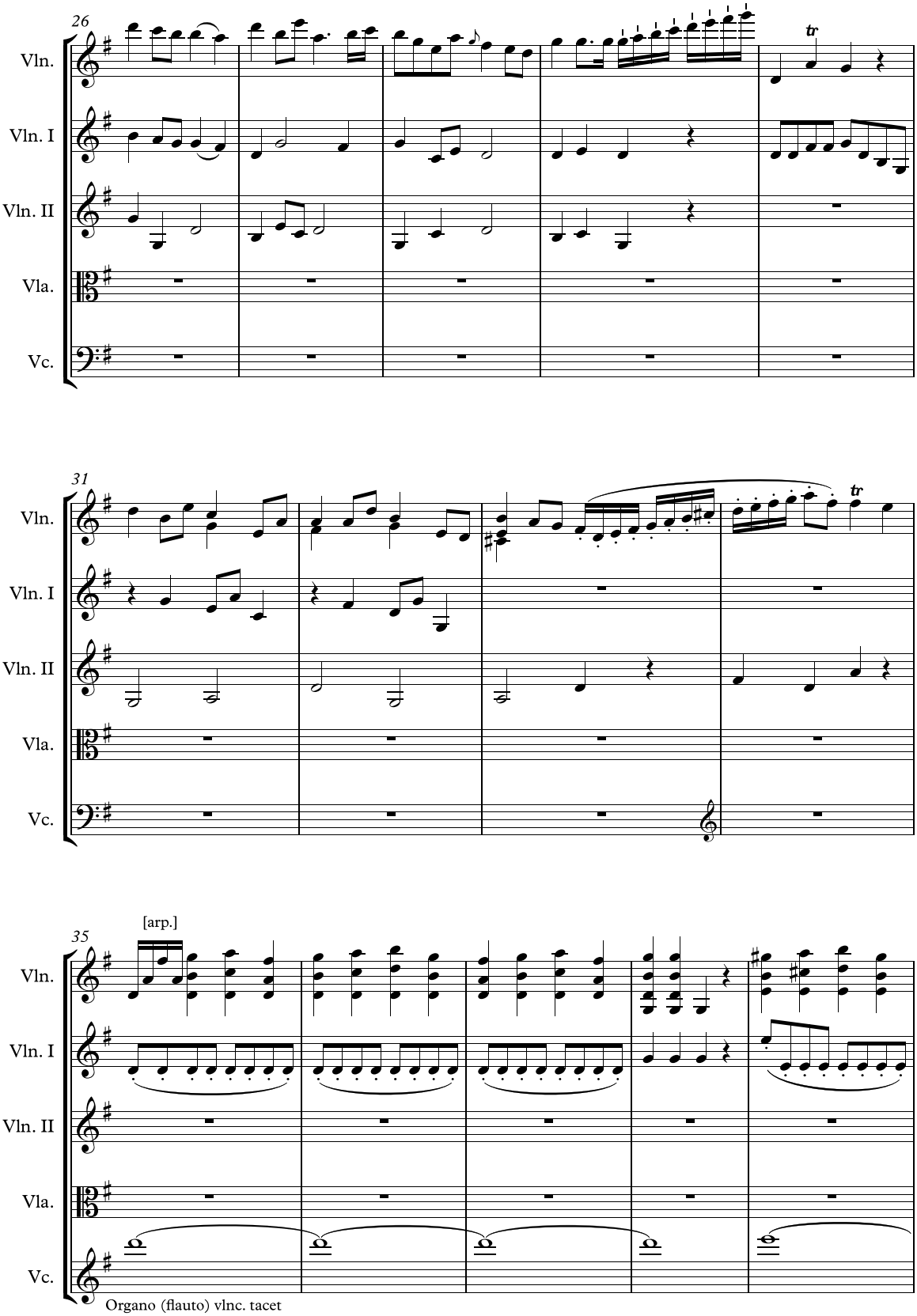

418
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

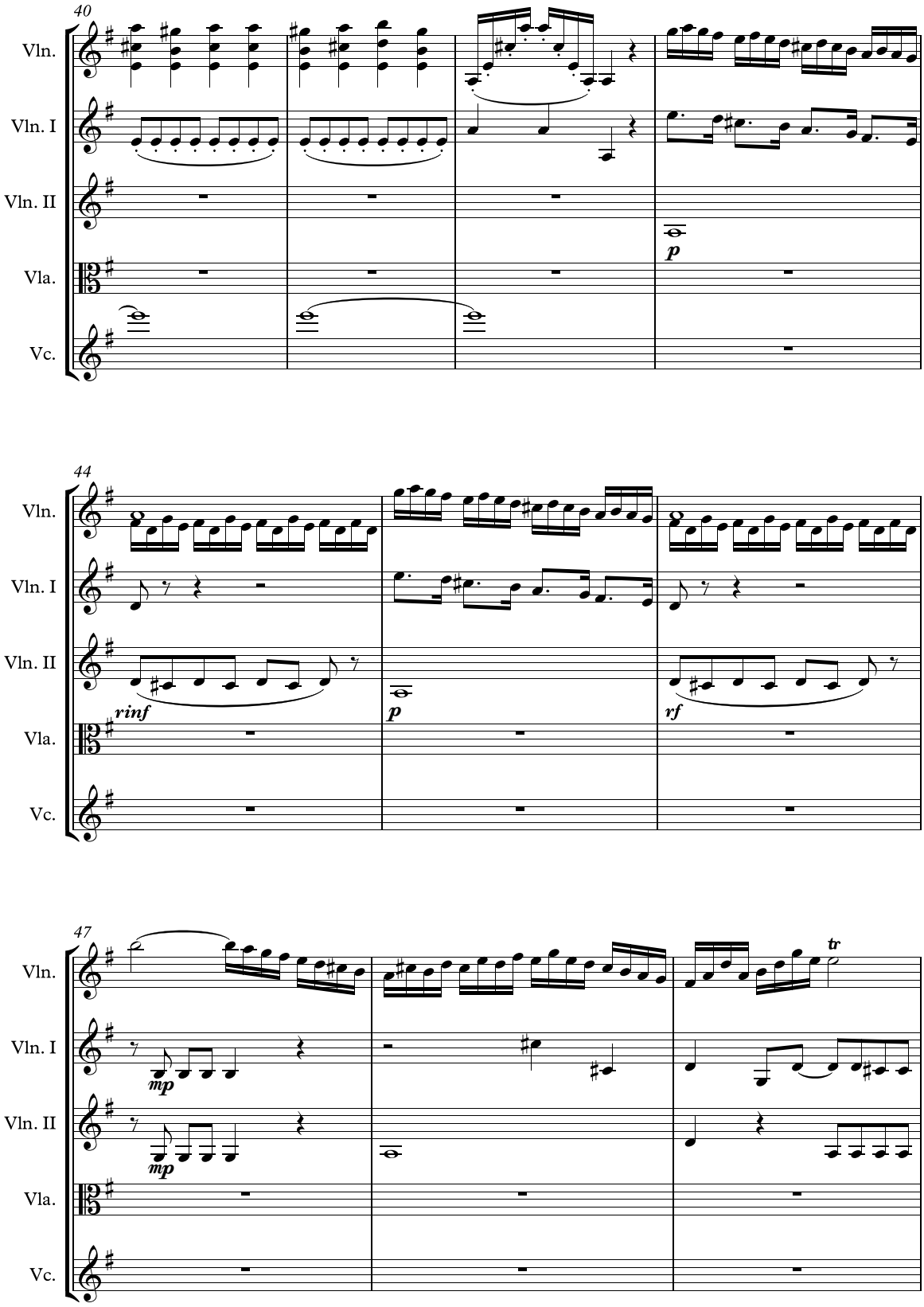
Aria

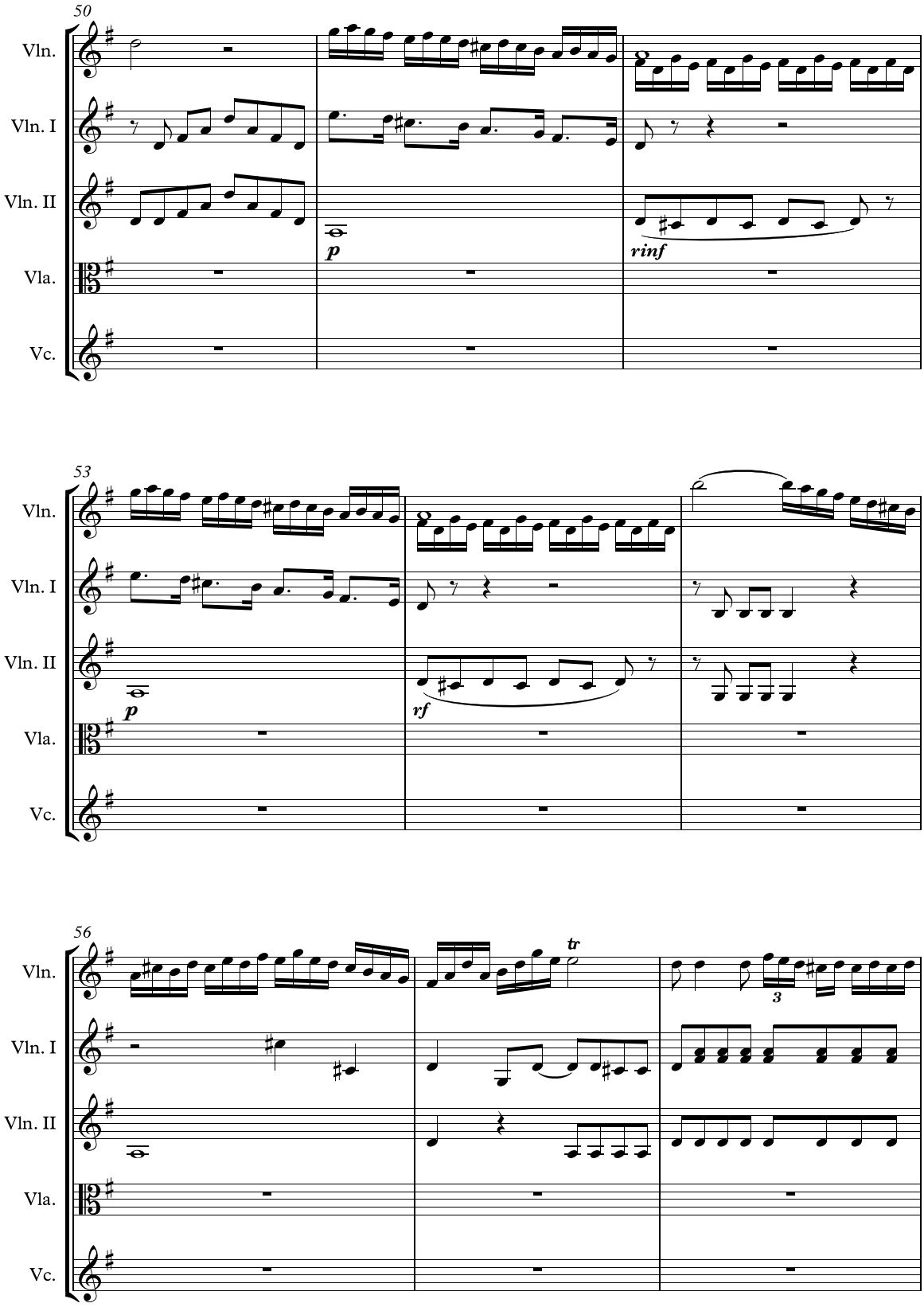

Andante *con sordino*
"When Wars Alarmed"
solo
Violin
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
tr
mf

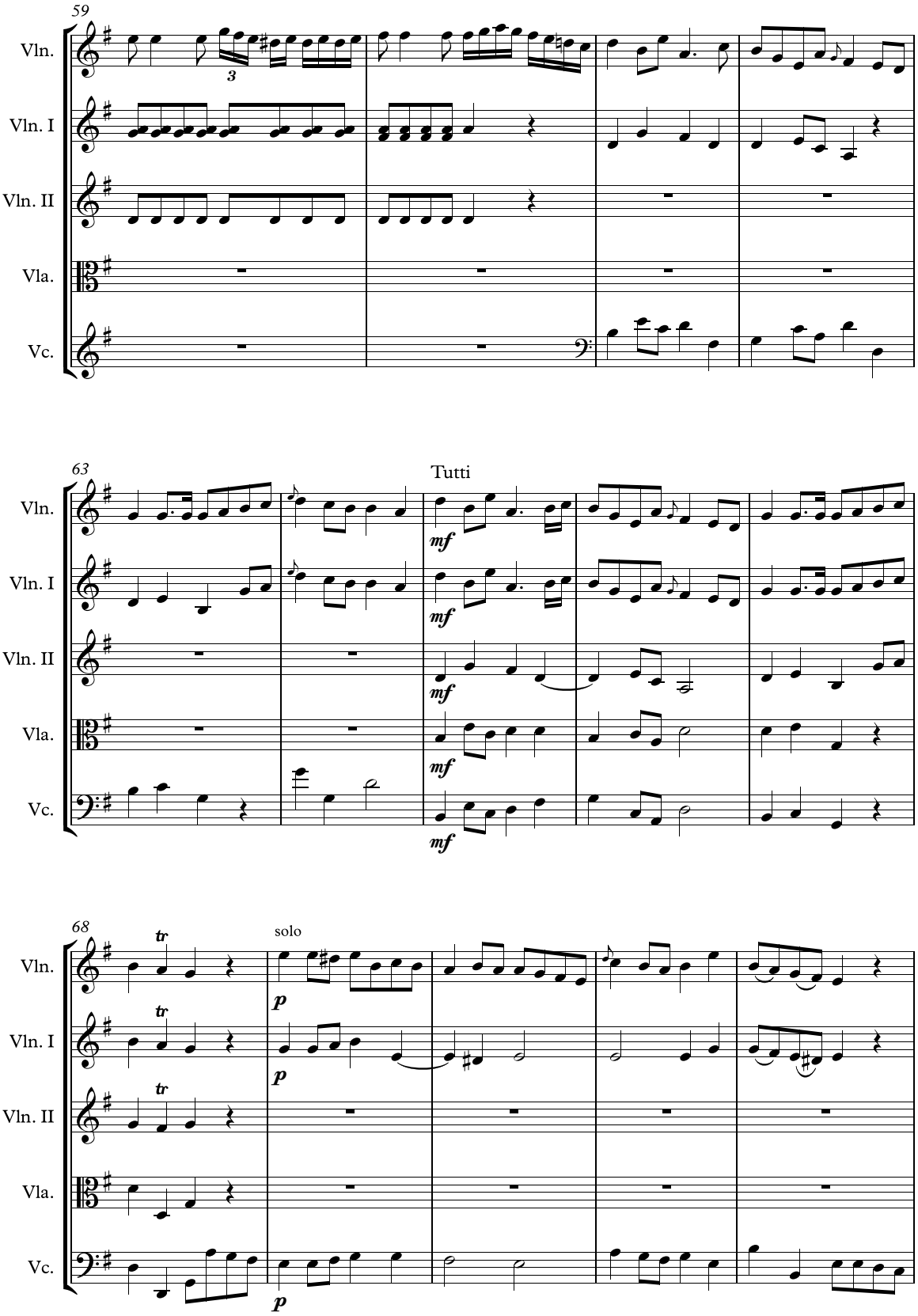

6
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
6
6 5
4 3
pp

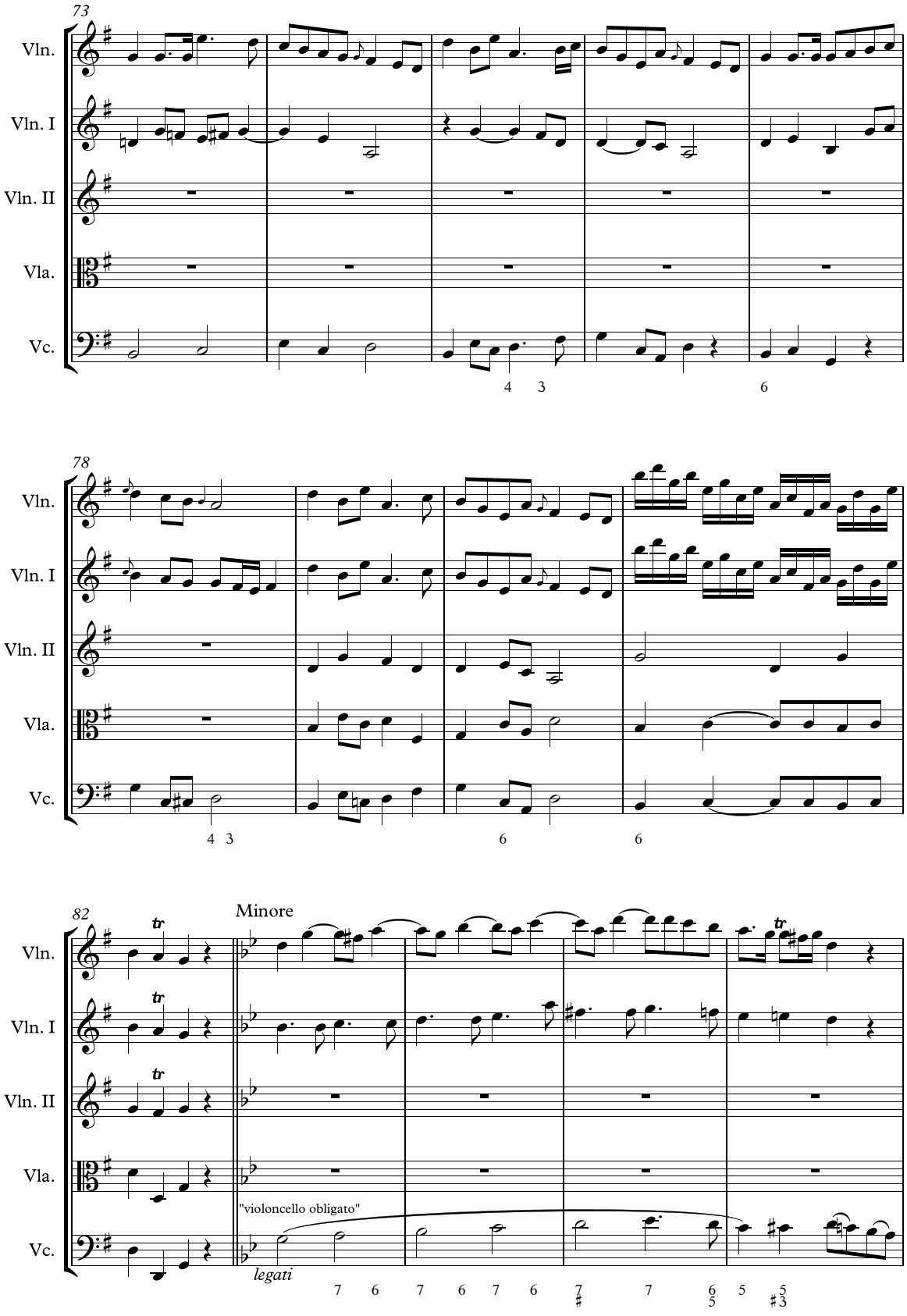

11
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
16
Tutti
mf
6
21
solo
tr
pp
6
6
4

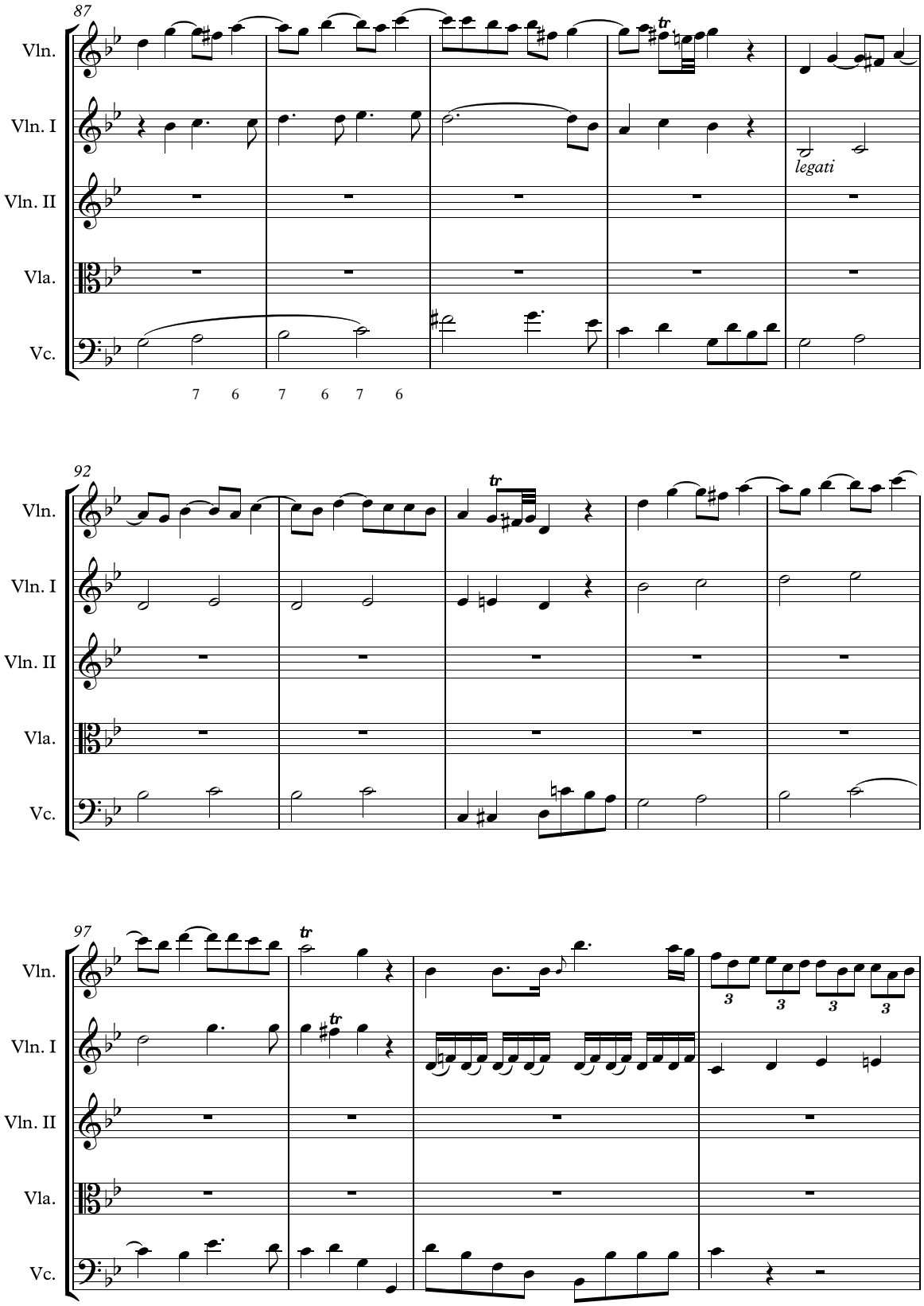

26
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
31
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
35
[arp.]
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Organo (flauto) vlnc. tacet

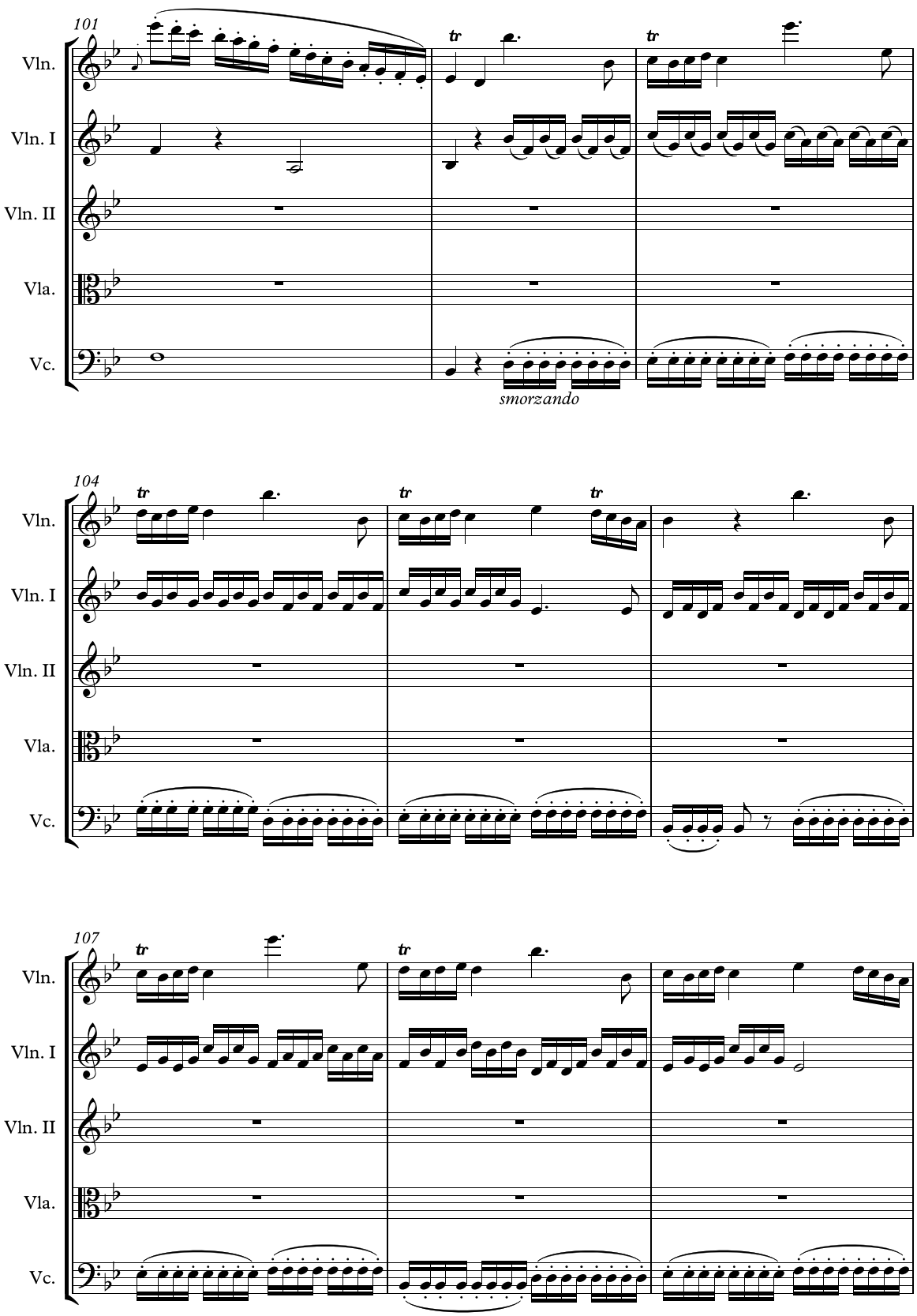

40
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
p
44
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
rinf
p
rf
47
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
mp
mp
tr

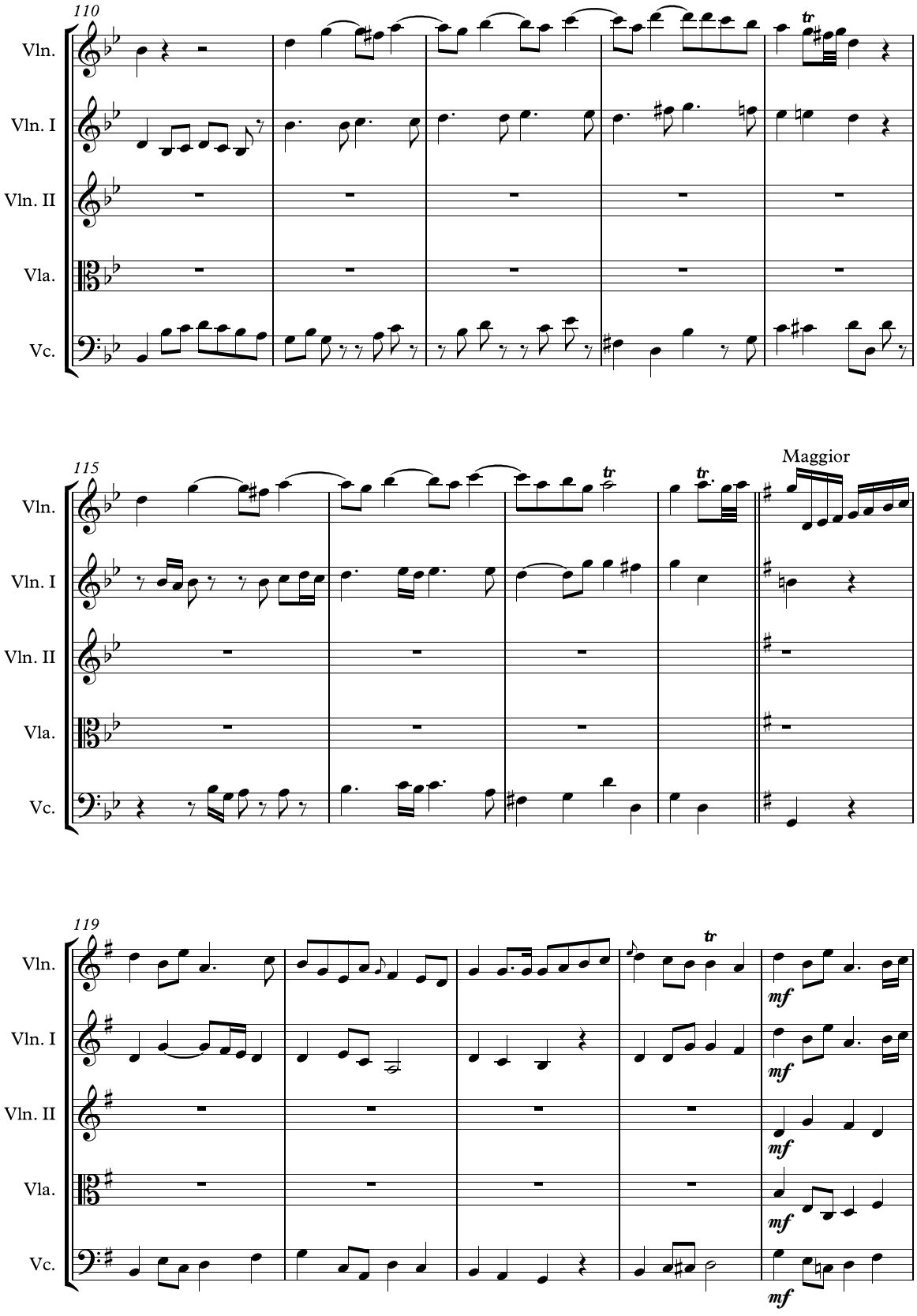

50
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
p
rinf
53
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
p
rf
56
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
3

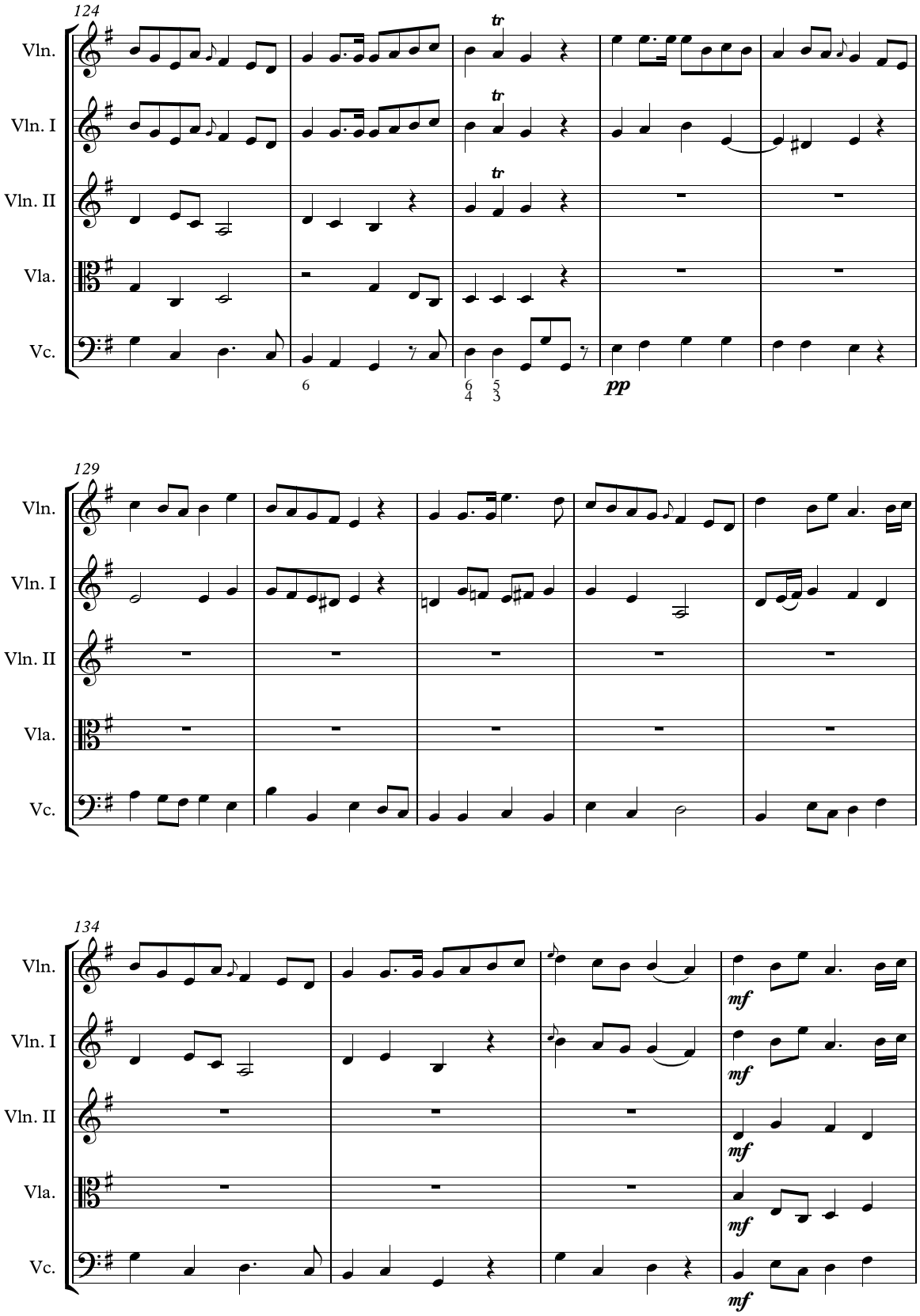

59
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
3
63
Tutti
mf
68
solo
tr
p

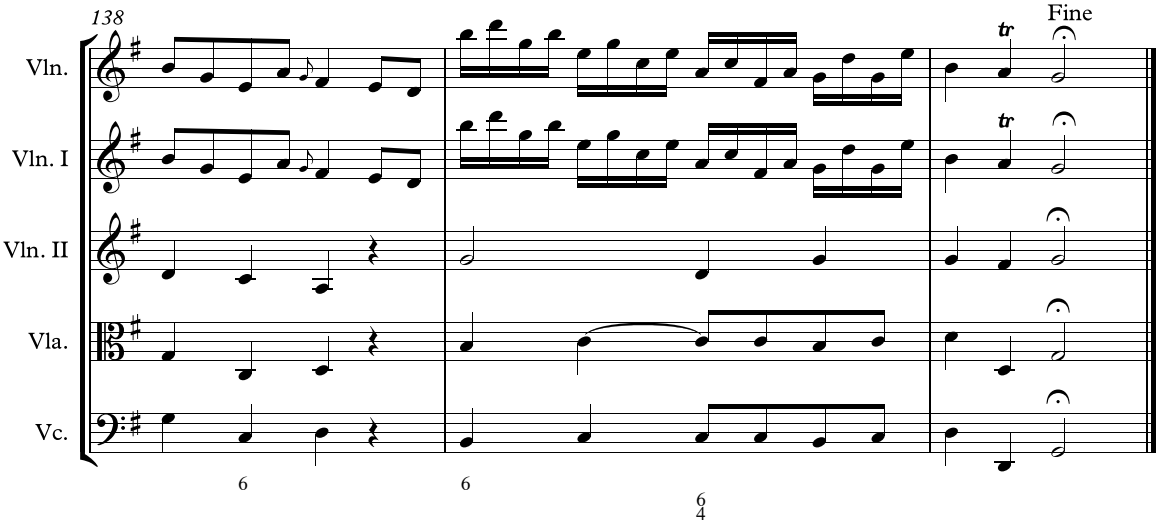

73
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
4 3
6
78
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
4 3
6
6
82
Minore
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
"violoncello obligato"
Vc.
legati
7 6 7 6 7 6 7 7 6 5 5
5 #3


87
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
legati
7 6 7 6 7 6
92
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
97
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.

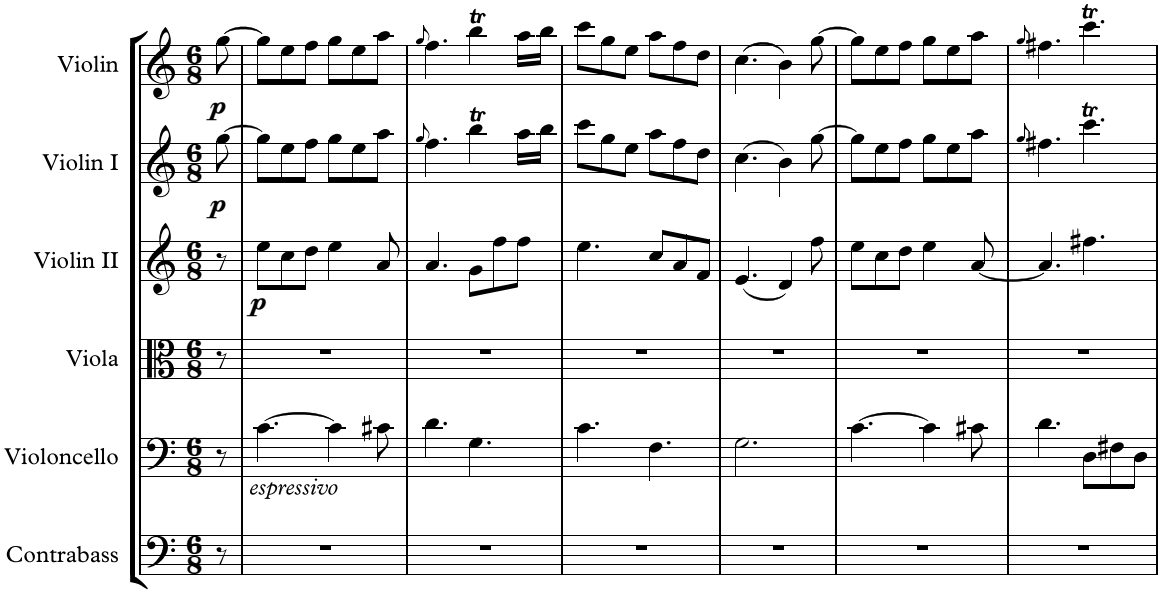

101
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
tr
smorzando
104
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
tr
tr
107
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
tr

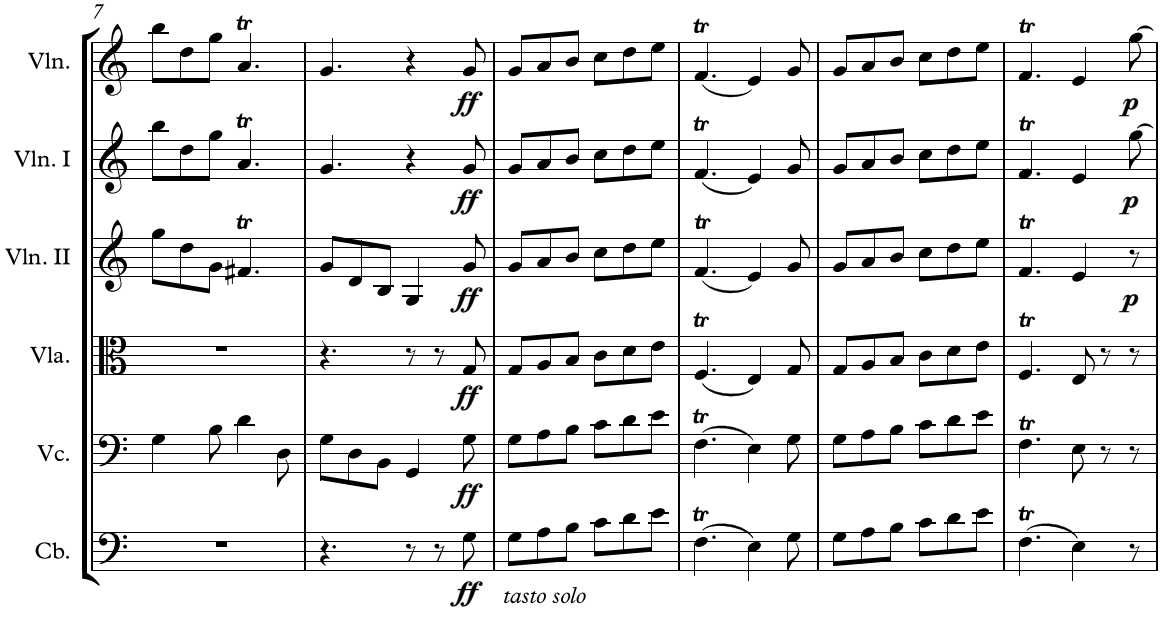

110
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
115
Maggior
119
mf

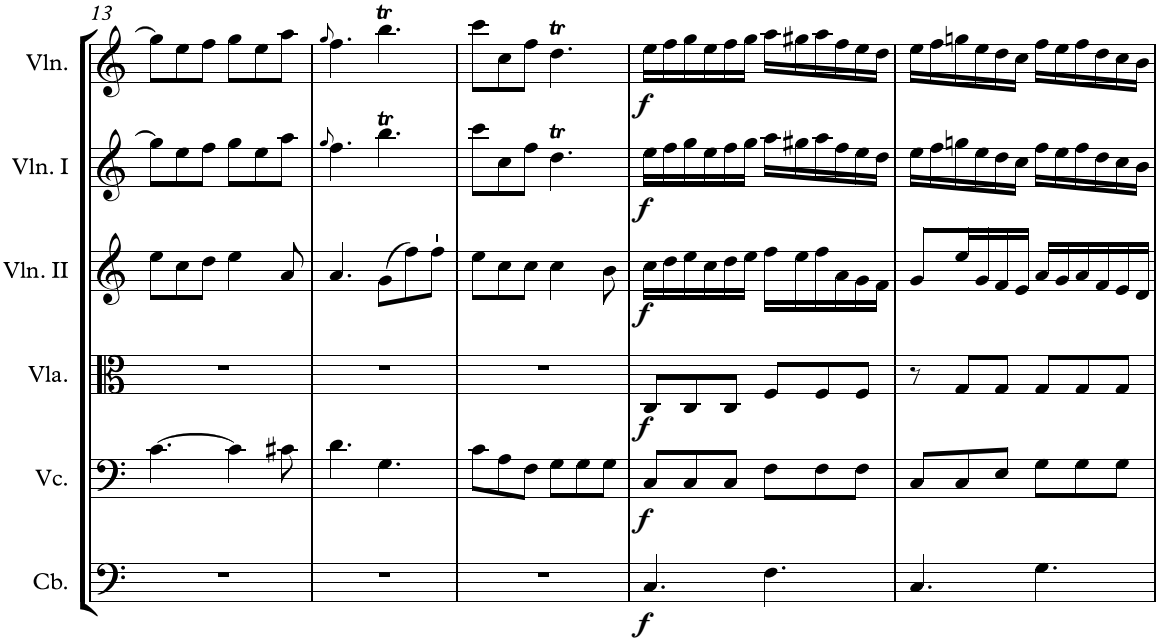

124
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
tr
tr
6
6 5
4 3
pp
129
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
134
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
mf
mf
mf
mf

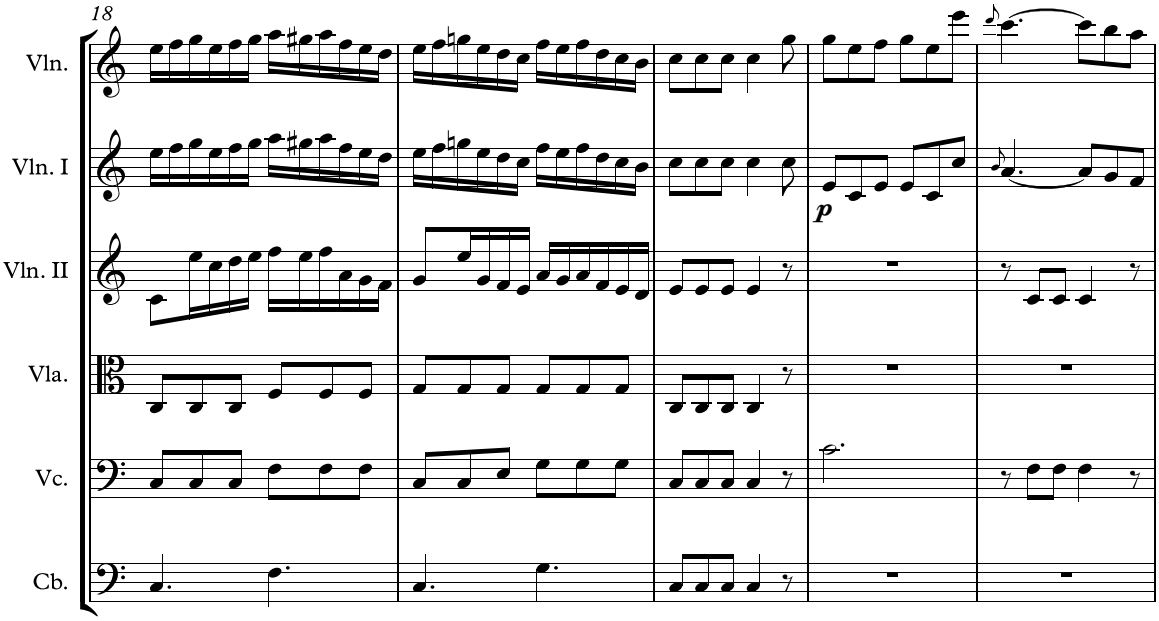

138
Fine
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
tr
tr
6
6
6
4

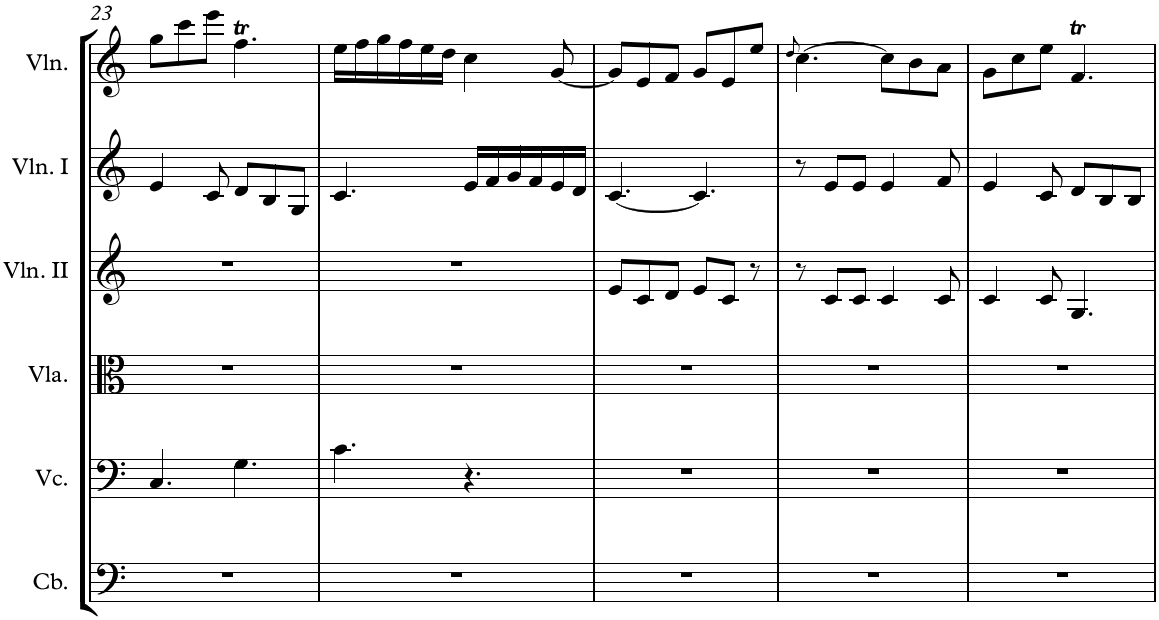
Rondeaux

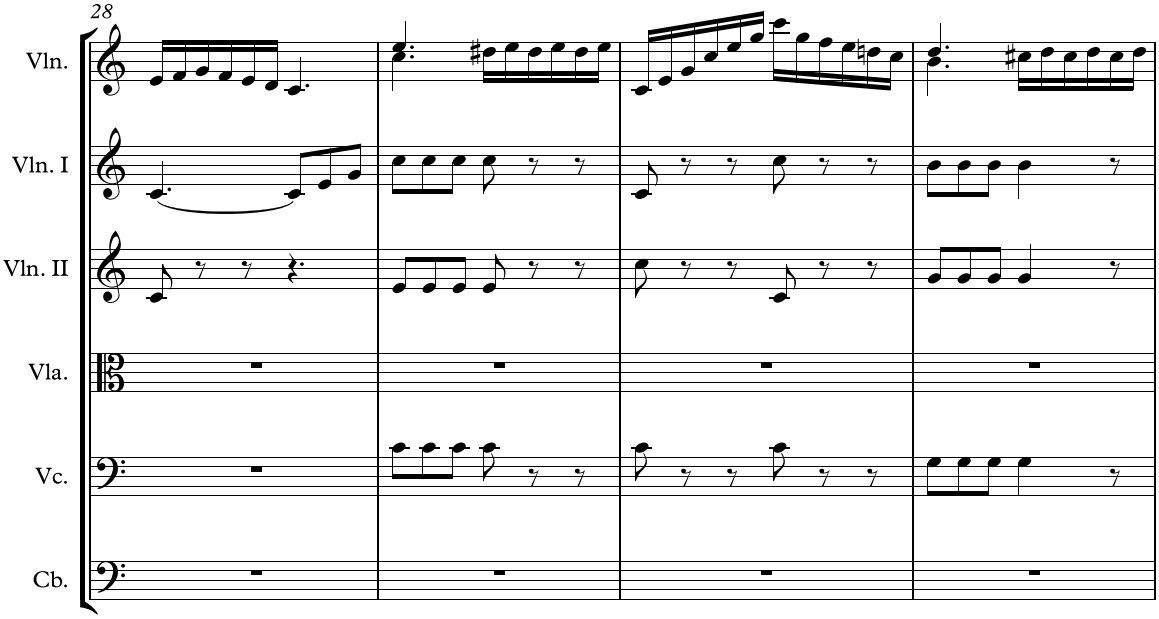

Violin
Violin I
Violin II
Viola
Violoncello
Contrabass
p
espressivo

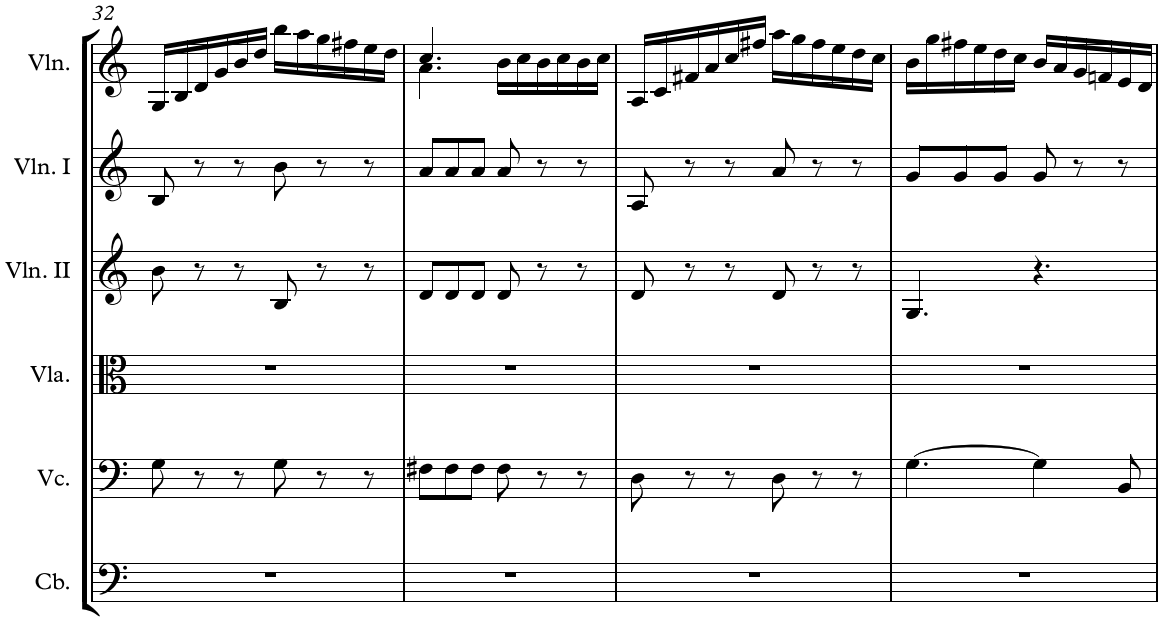

7
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
ff
p
tasto solo

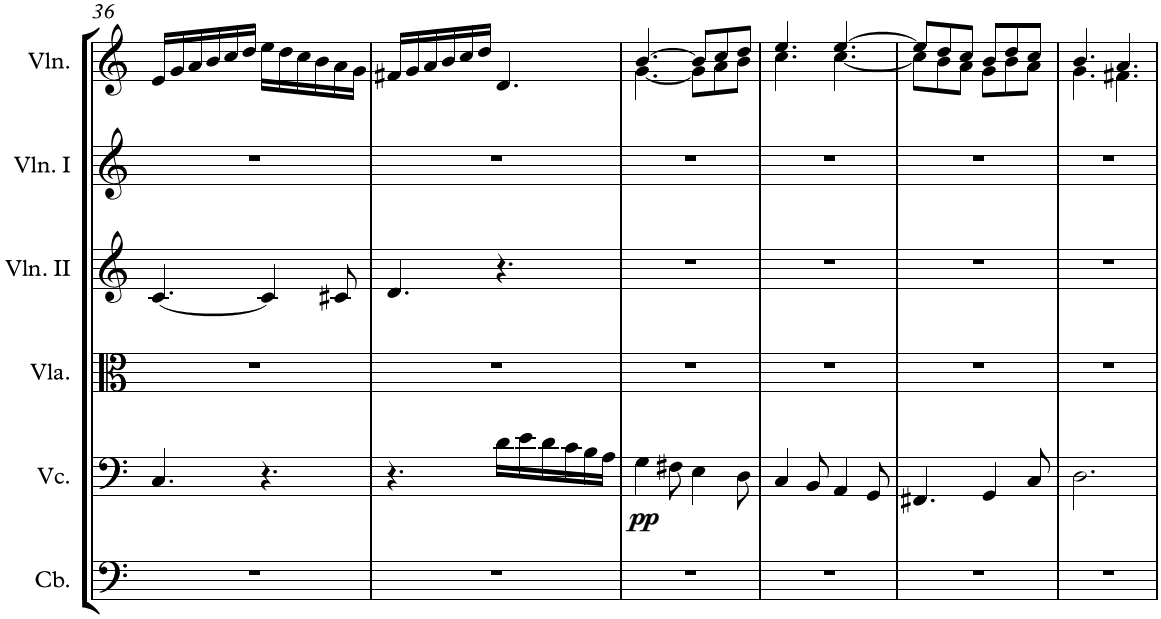

13
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
f

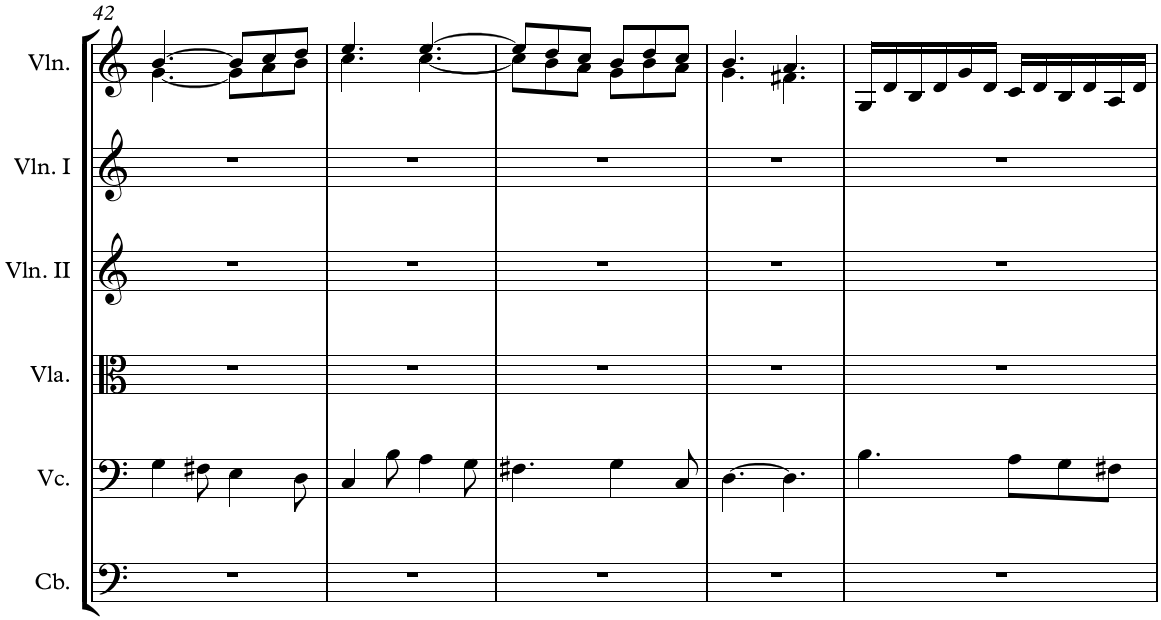

18
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
p

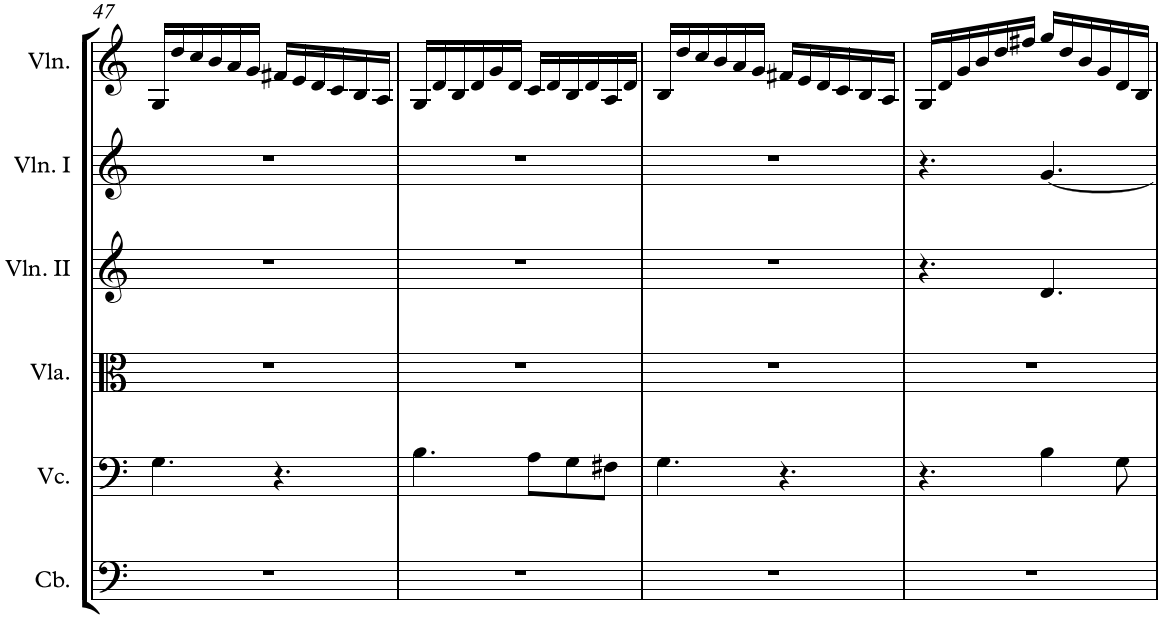

23
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

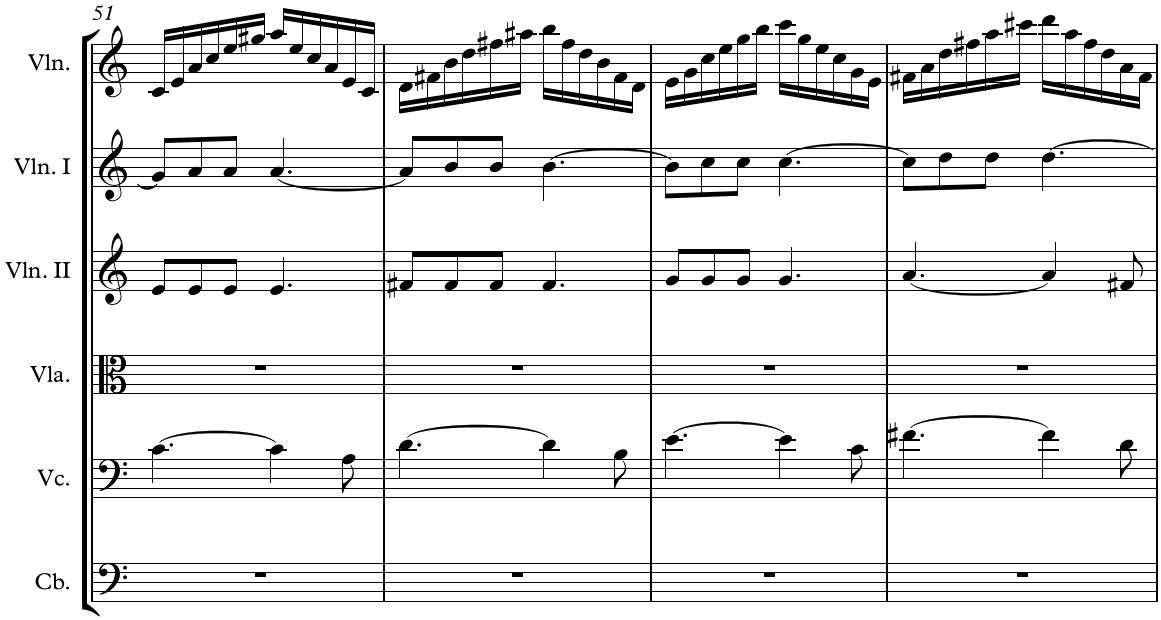

28
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

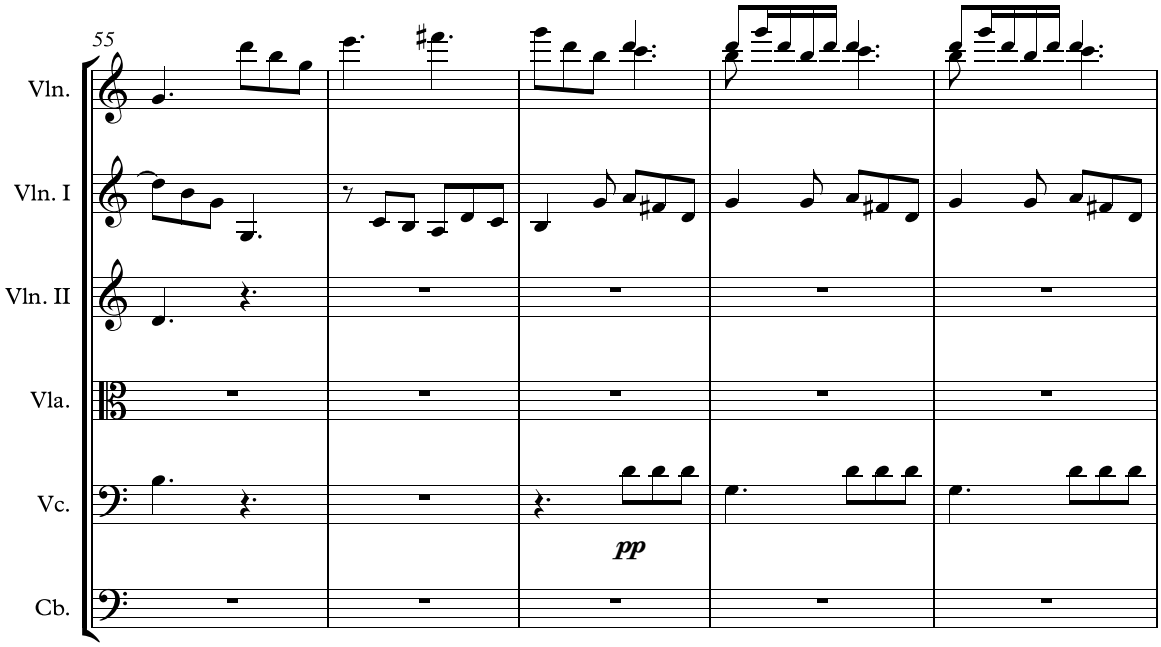

32
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

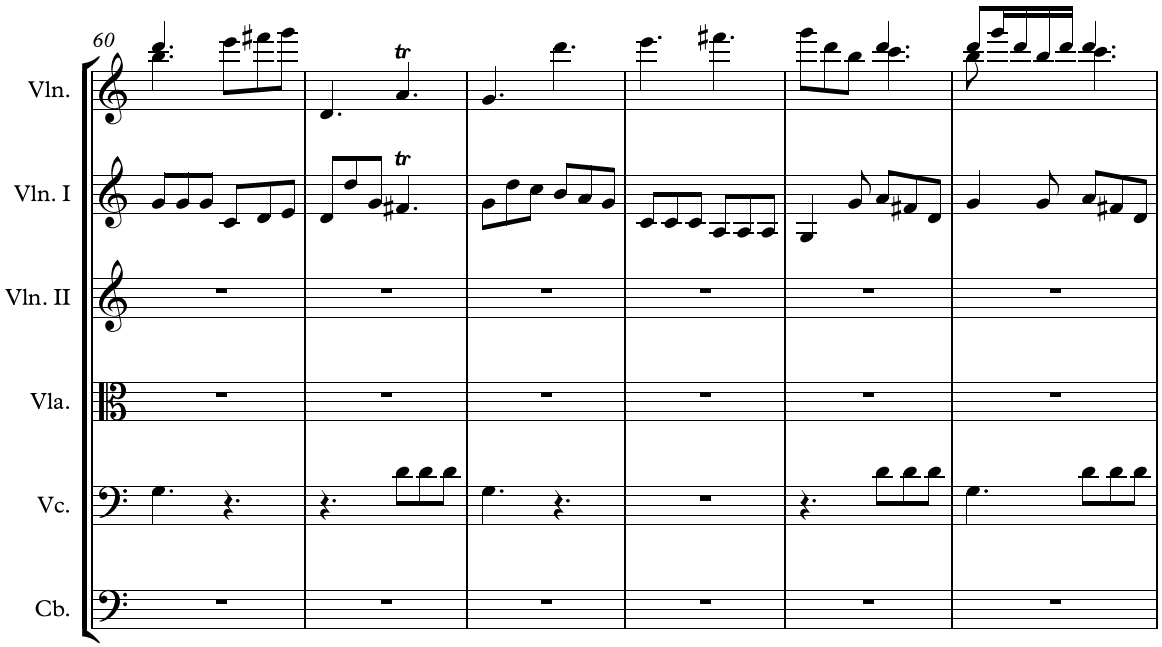

36
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
pp
Cb.

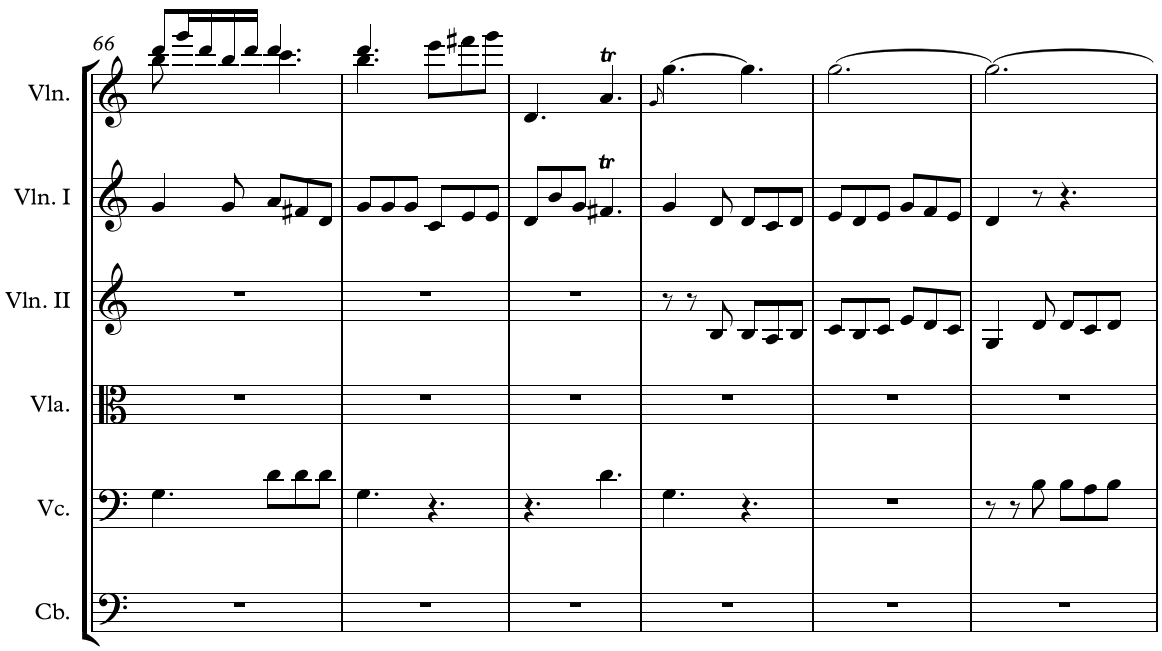

42
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

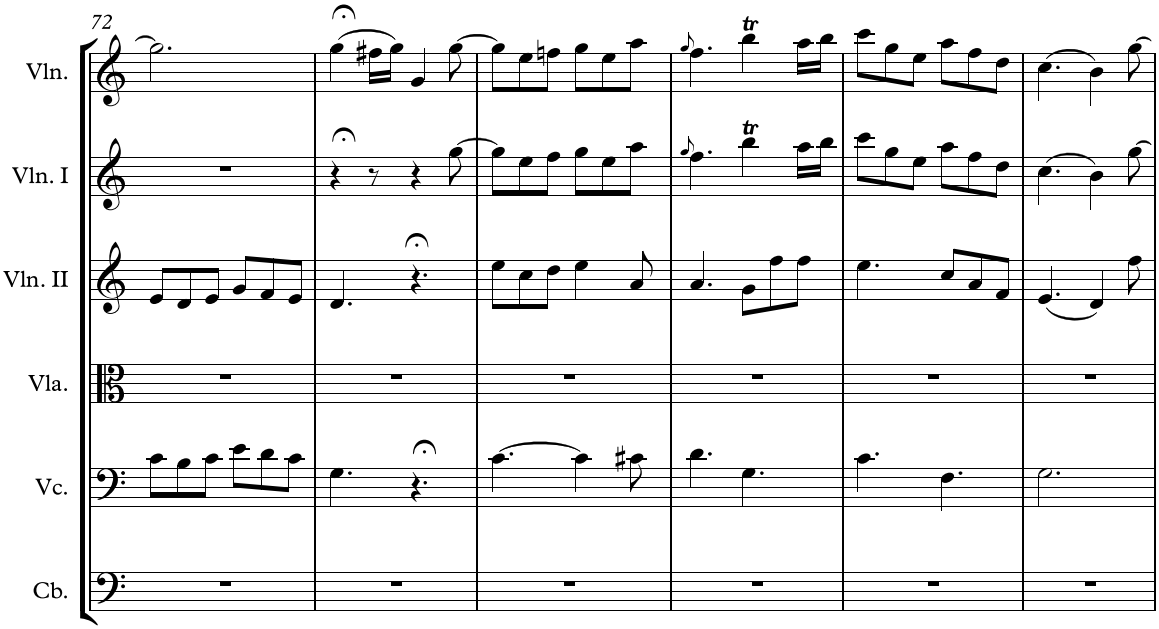

47
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

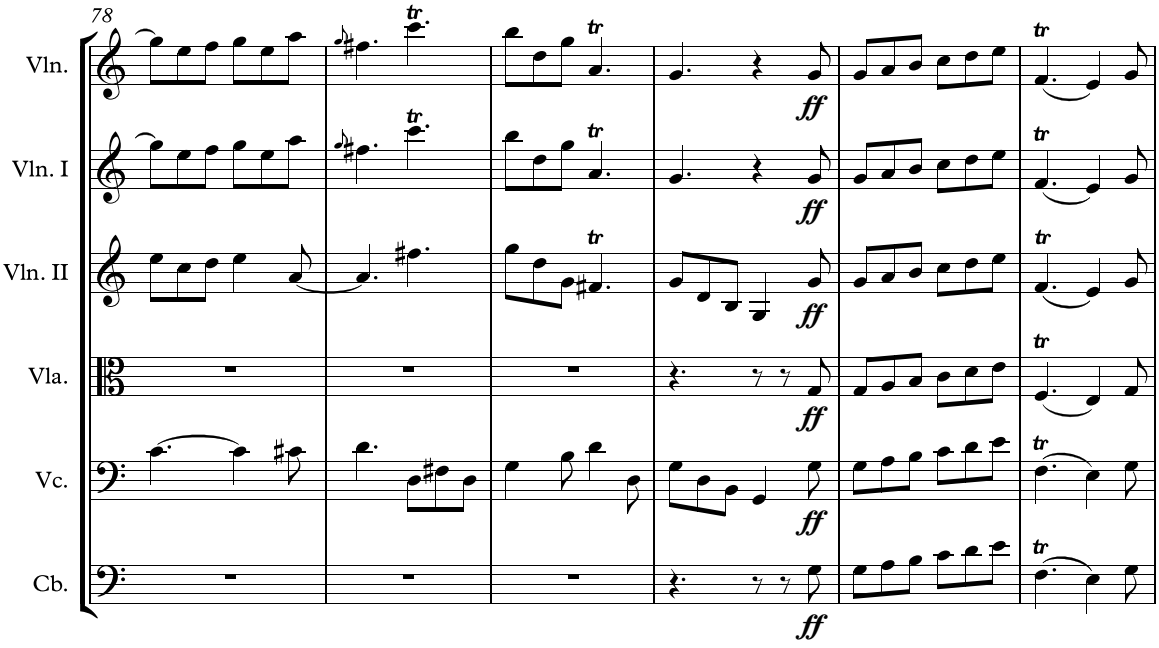

51
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

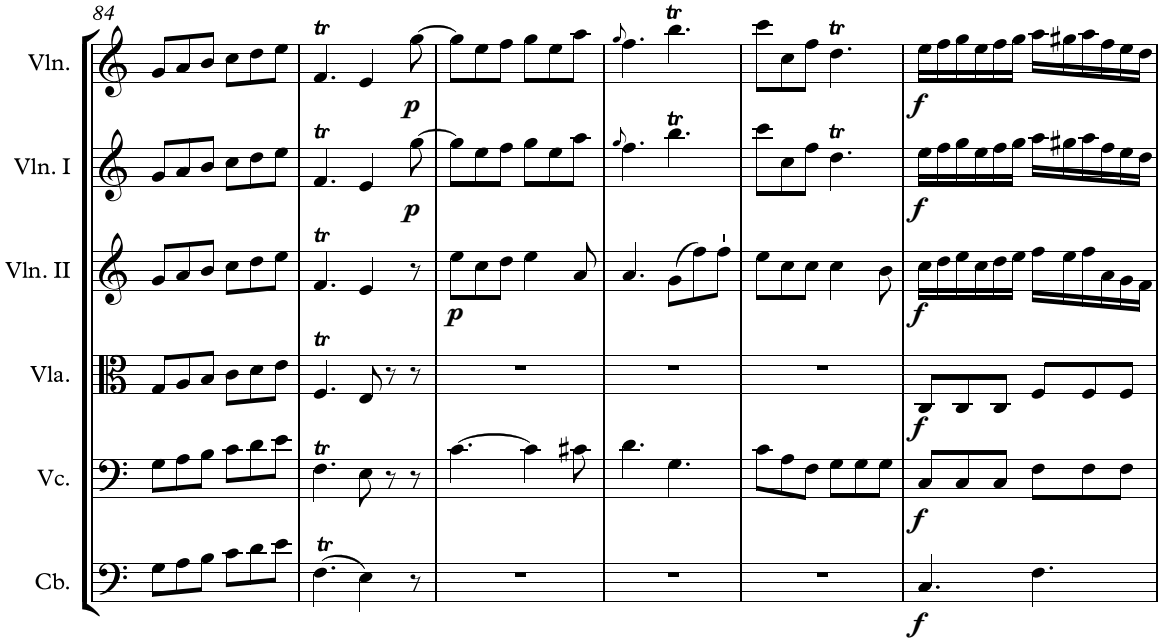

55
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
pp
Cb.

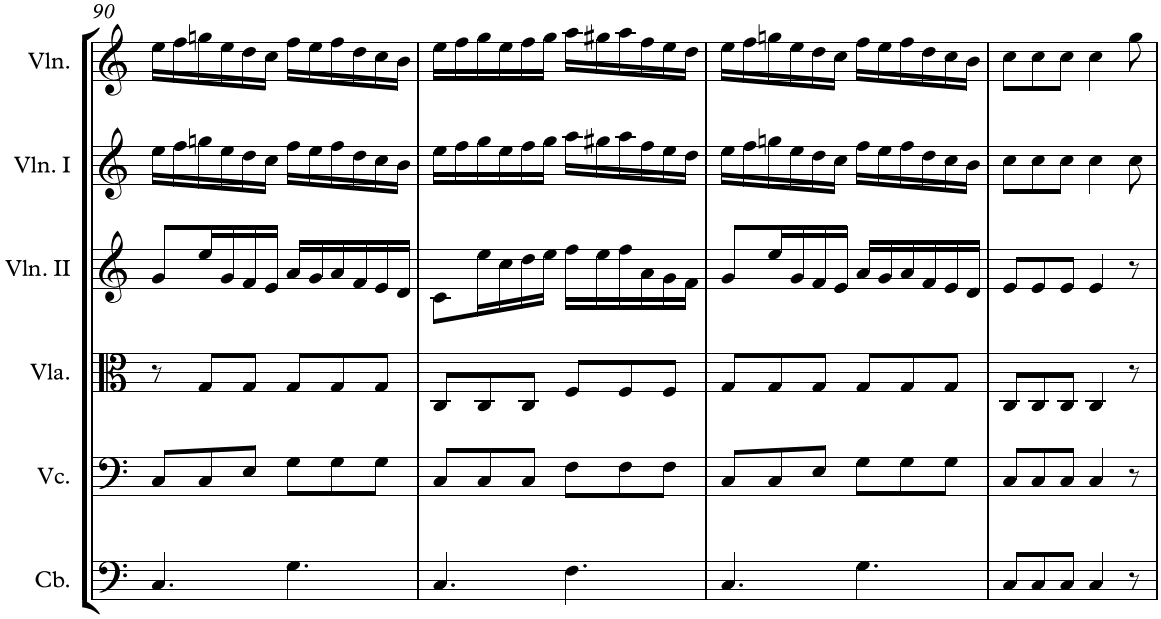

60
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

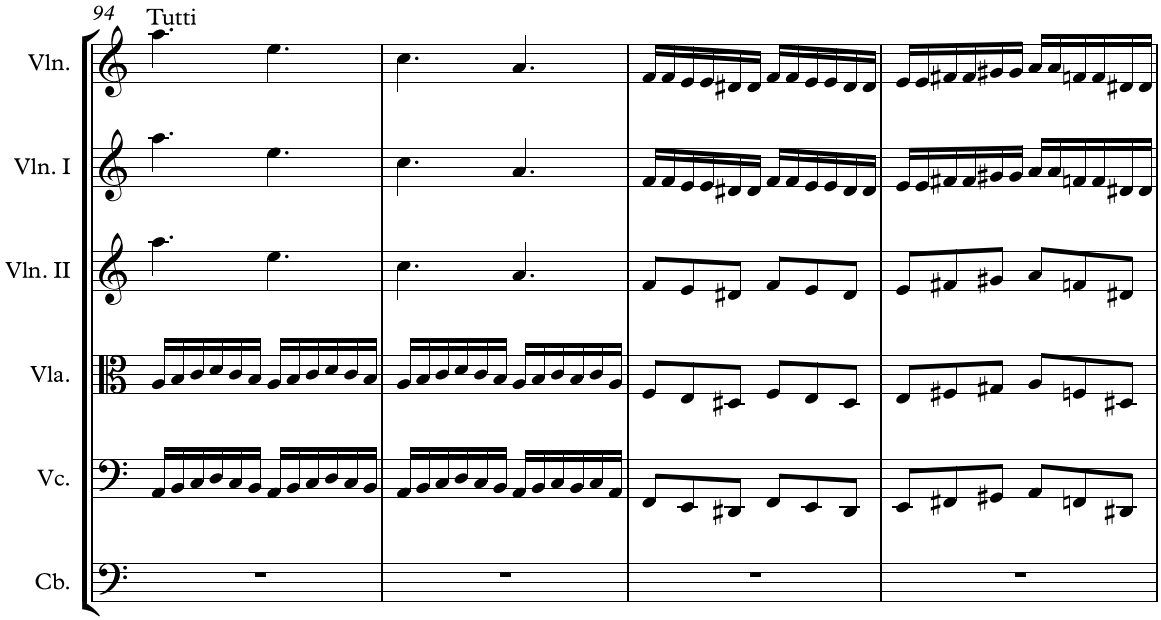

66
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

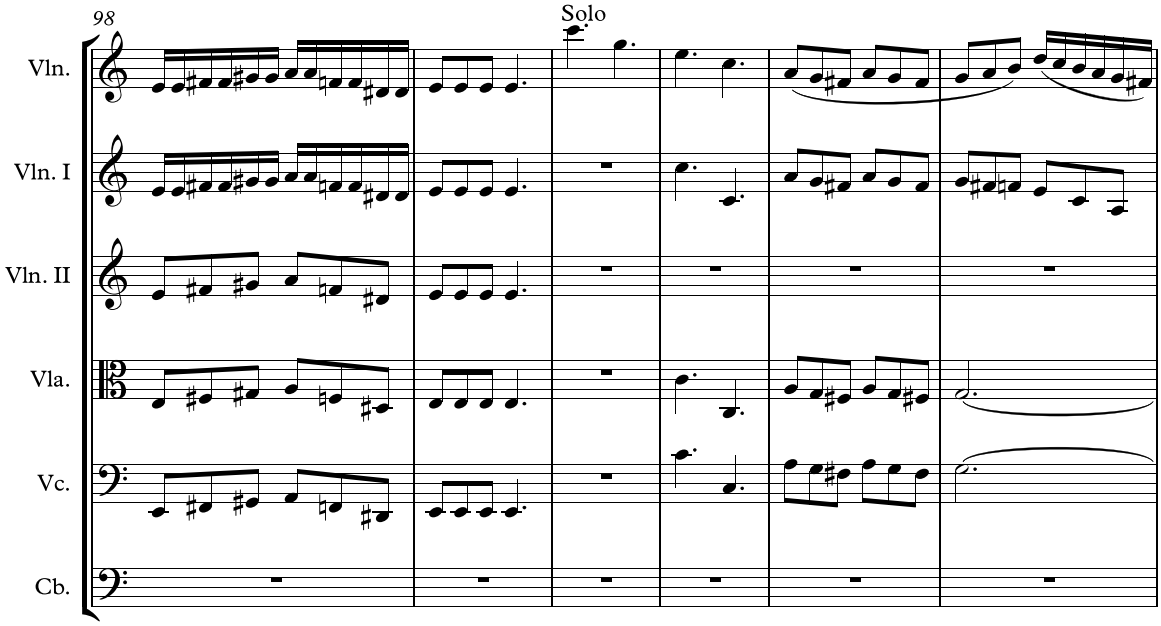

72
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

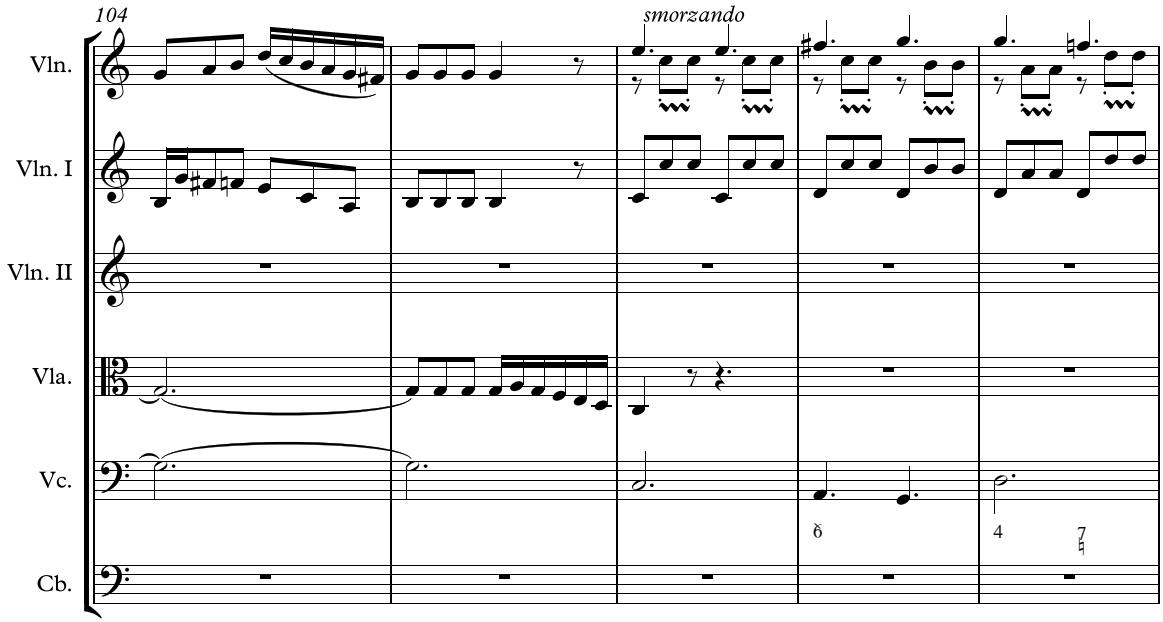

78
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
ff

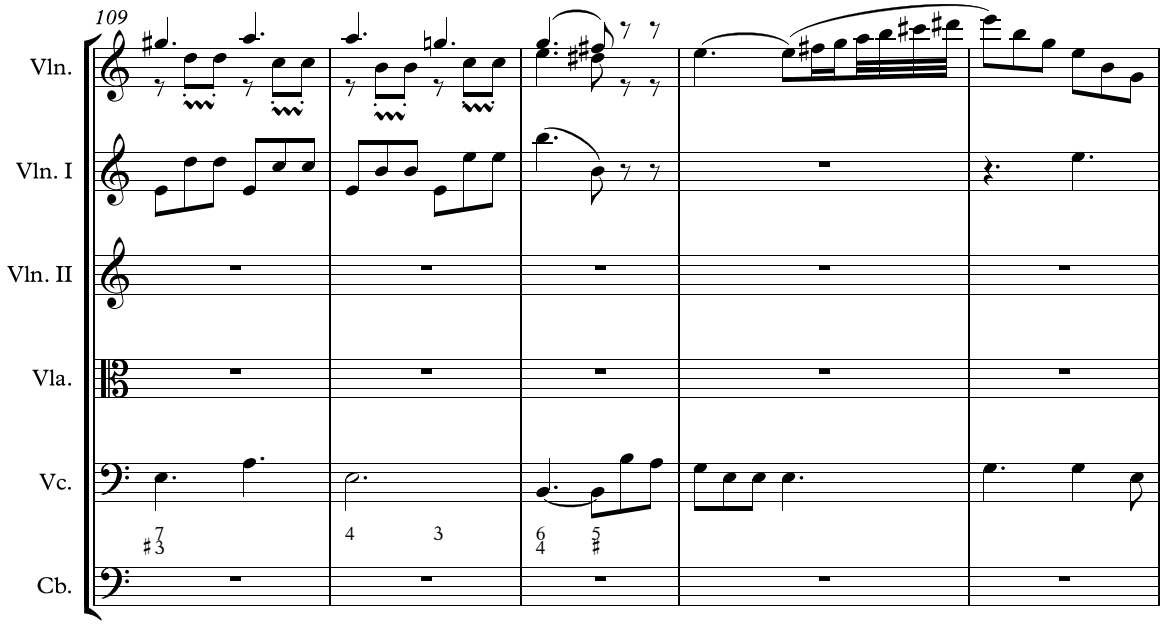

84
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
p
f

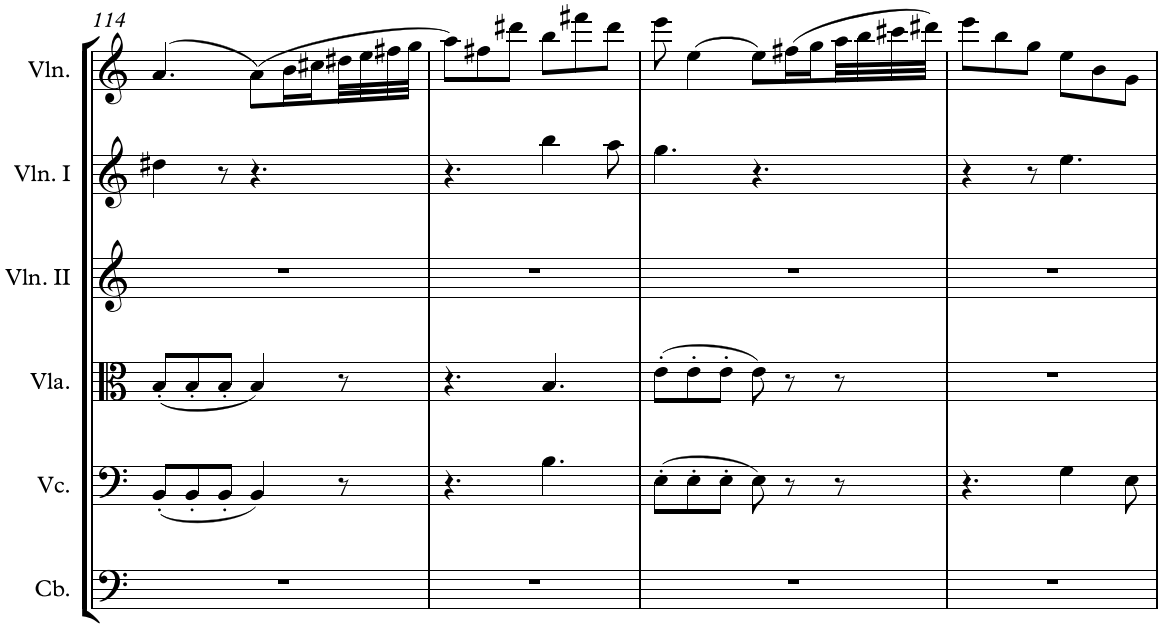

90
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

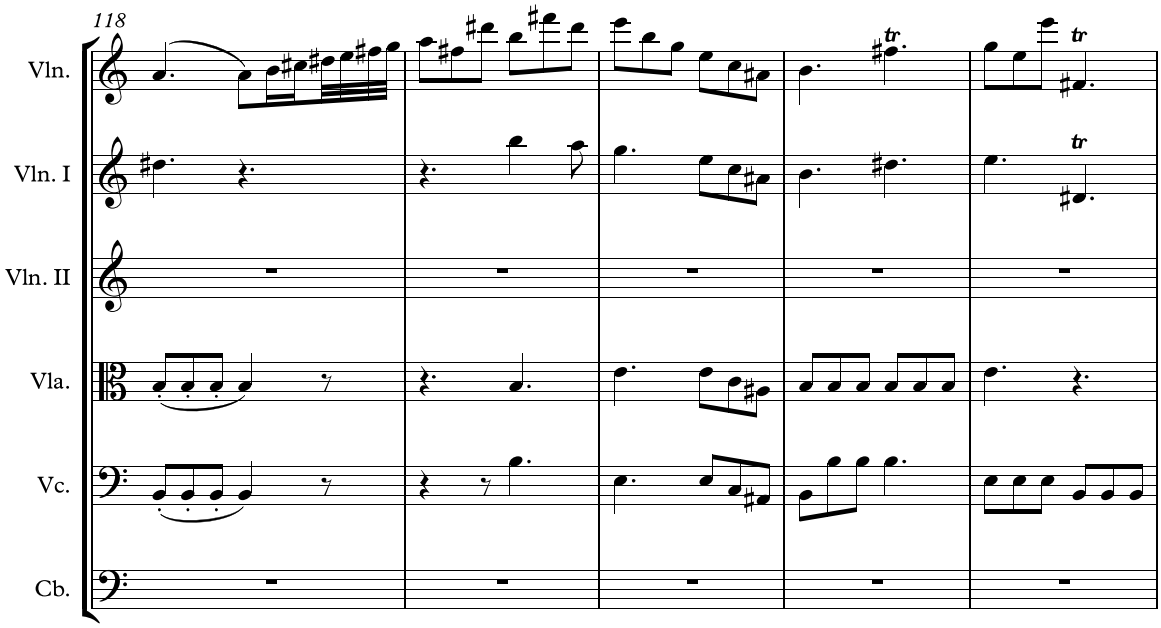

94
Tutti
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

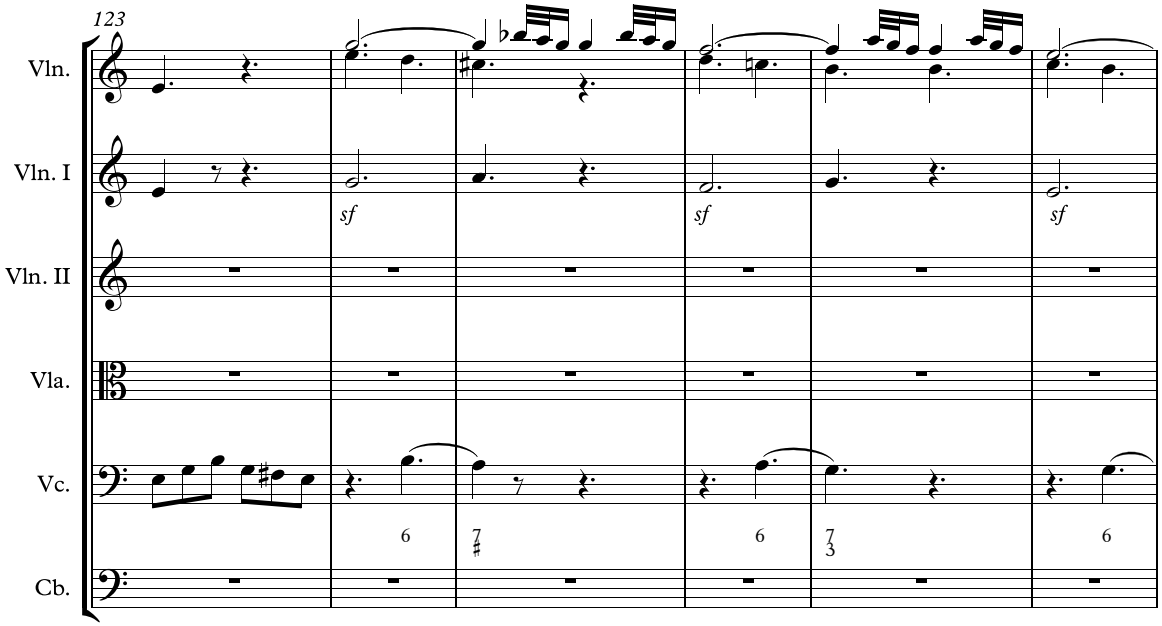

98
Solo
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

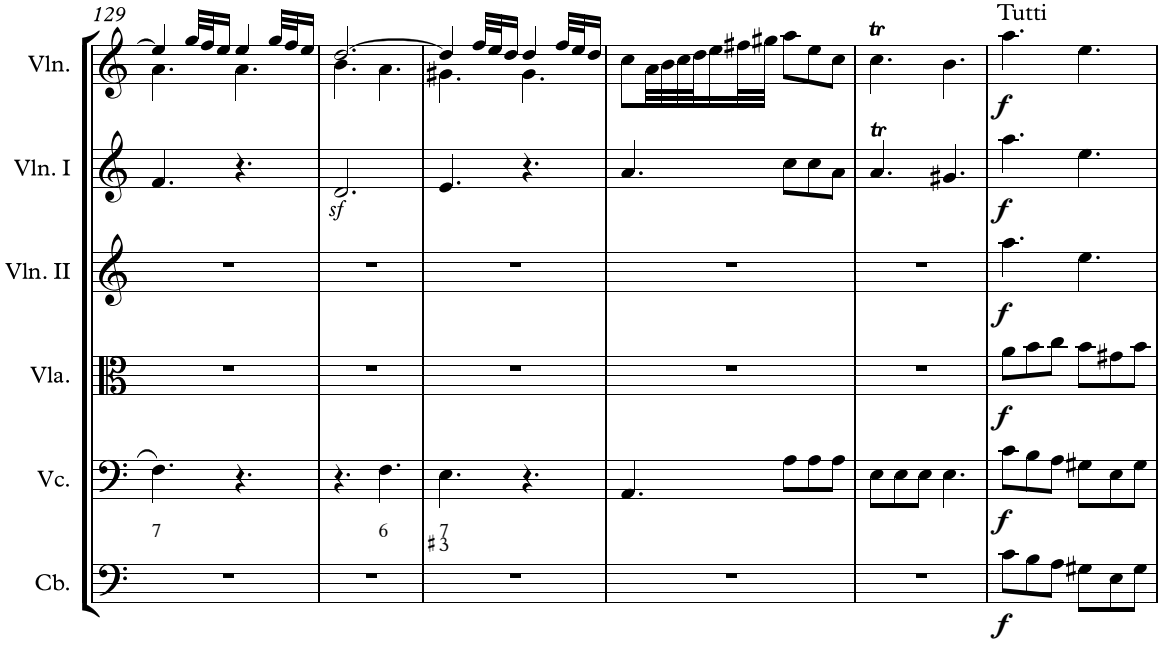

104
smorzando
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

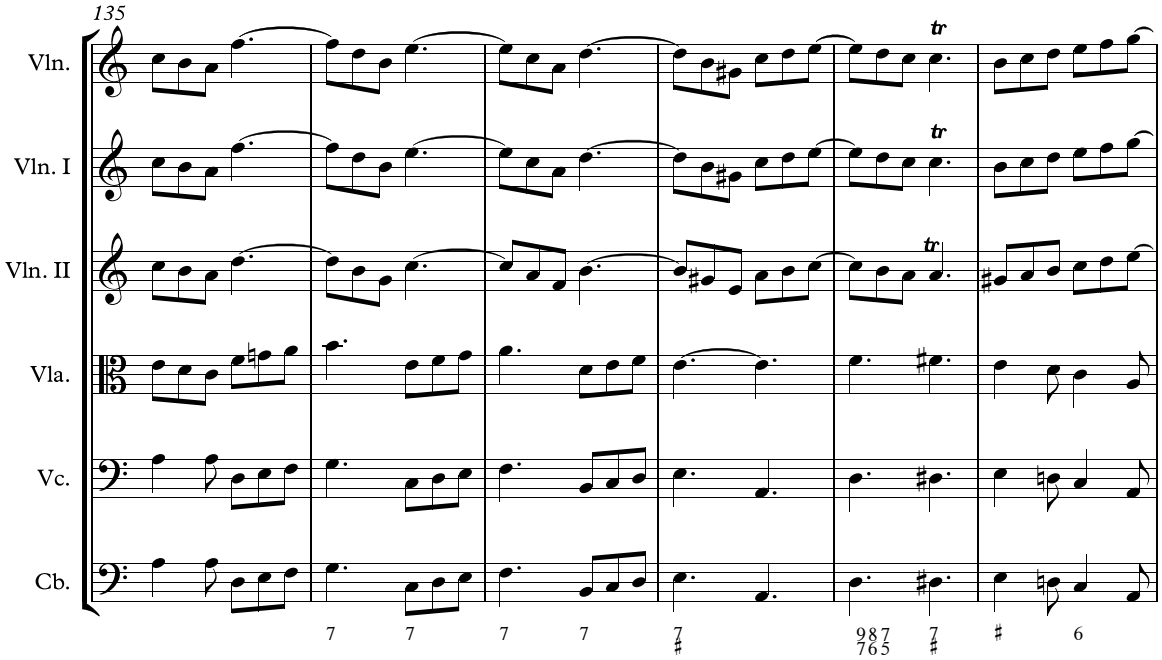

109
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

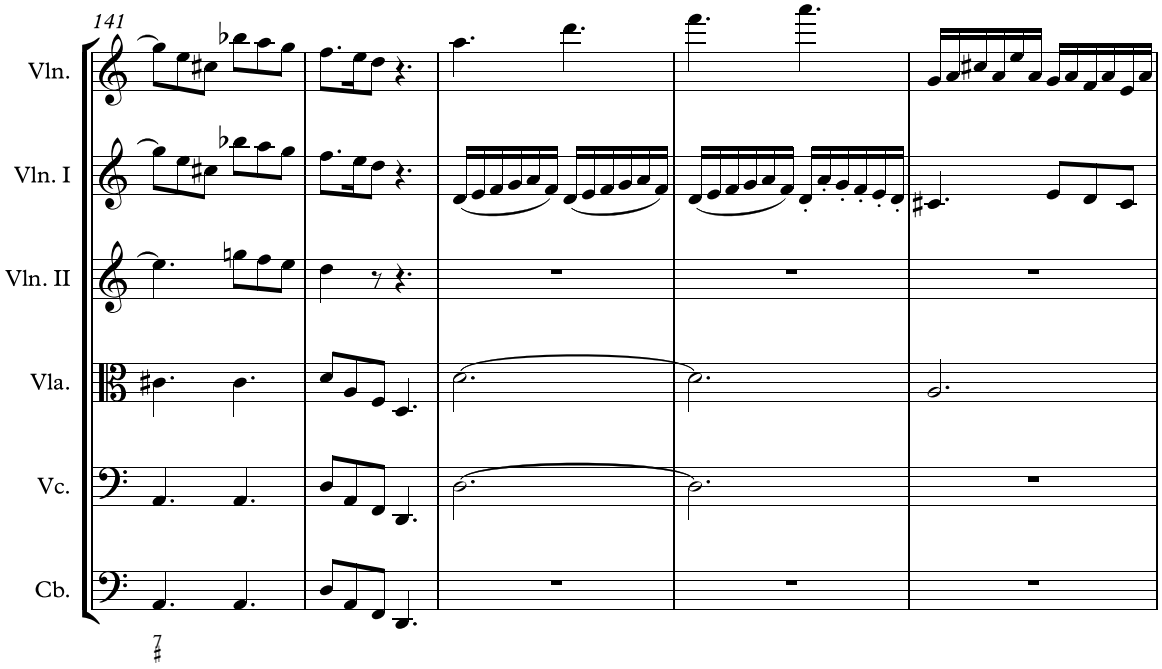

114
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

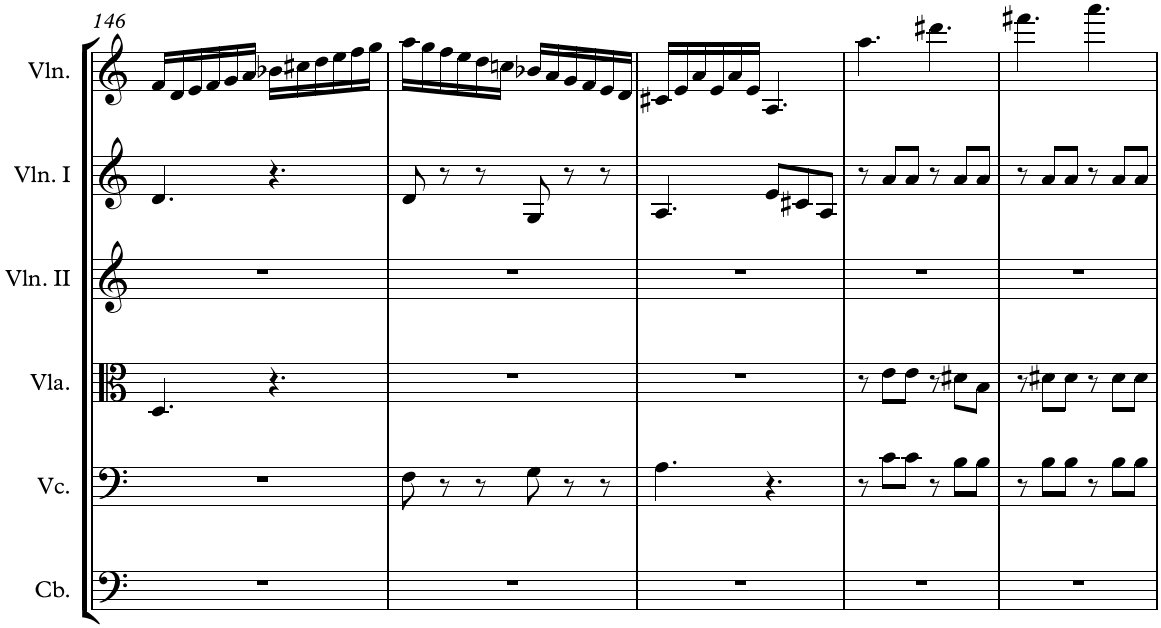

118
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

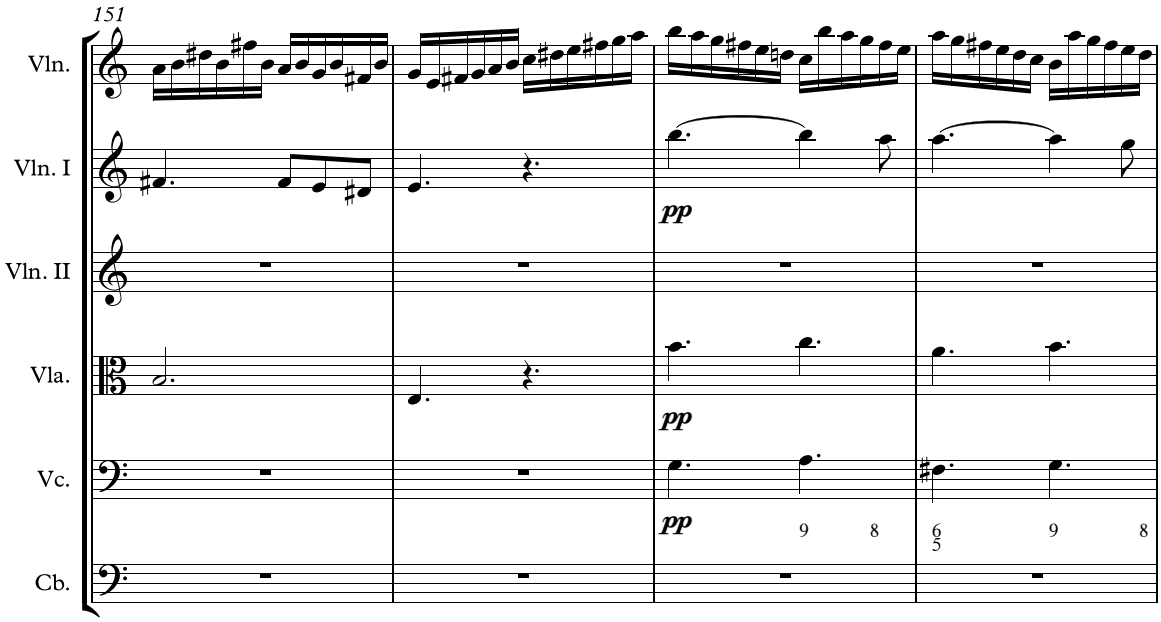

123
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
sf
sf
sf
6
7
♯
6
7
3
6

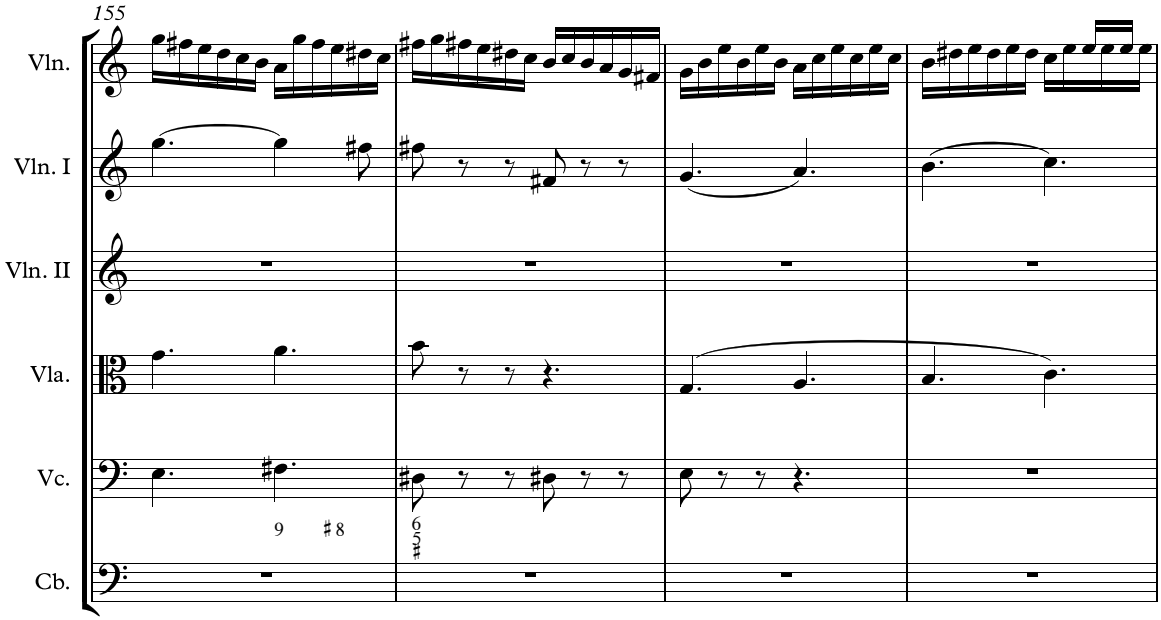

129
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
sf
tr
tr
Tutti
f
f
f
f
f
7
6
7
♯
3

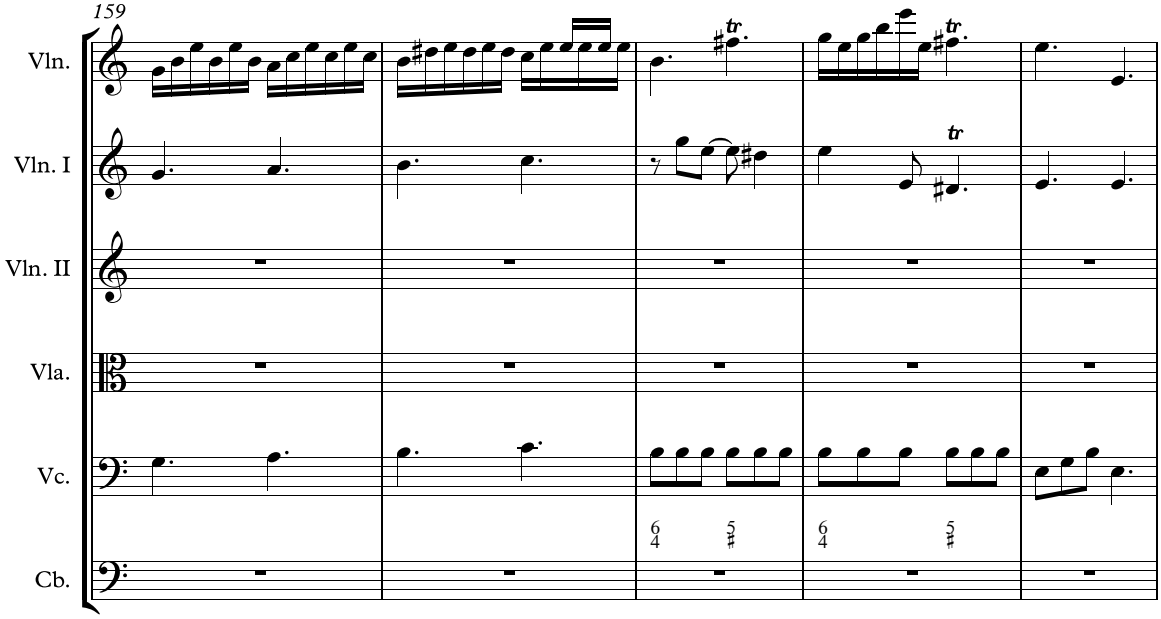

135
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr
7 7 7 7 7 9 8 7 7 6
7 6 5
♯ ♯ ♯

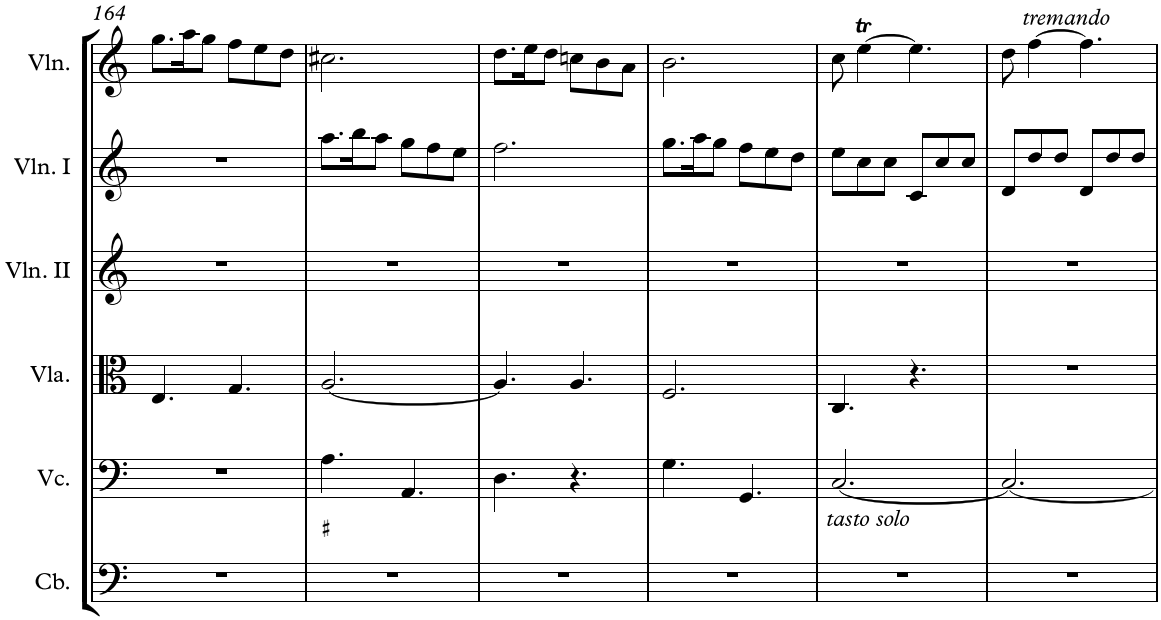

141
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
7
♯

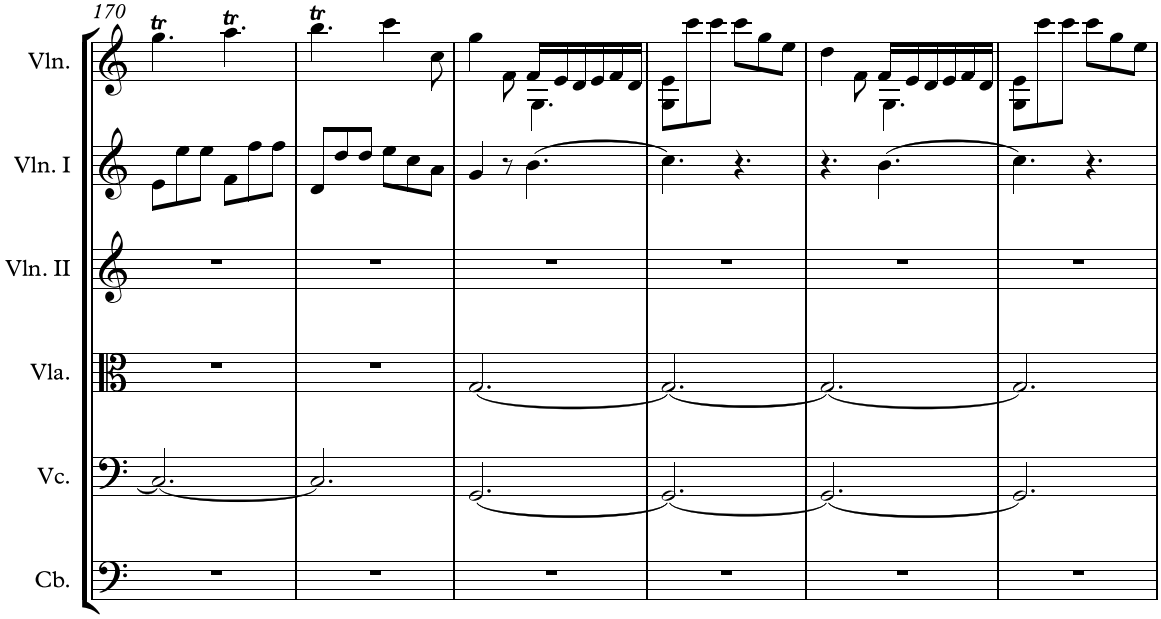

146
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

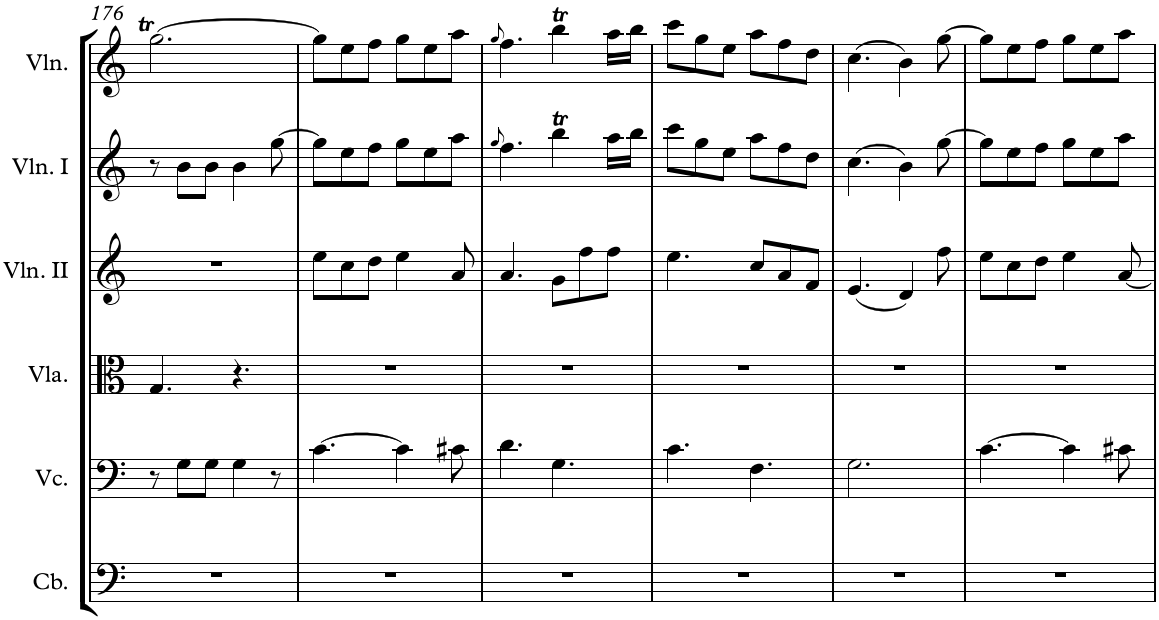

151
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
pp
pp
pp
9
8
6
5
9
8

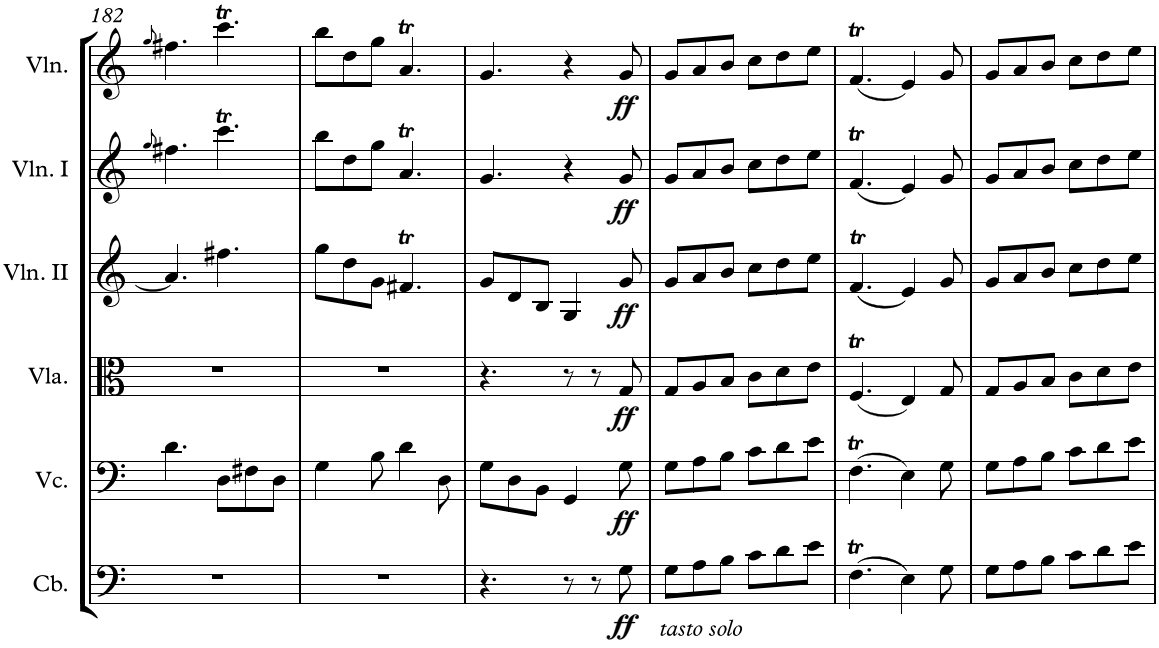

155
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

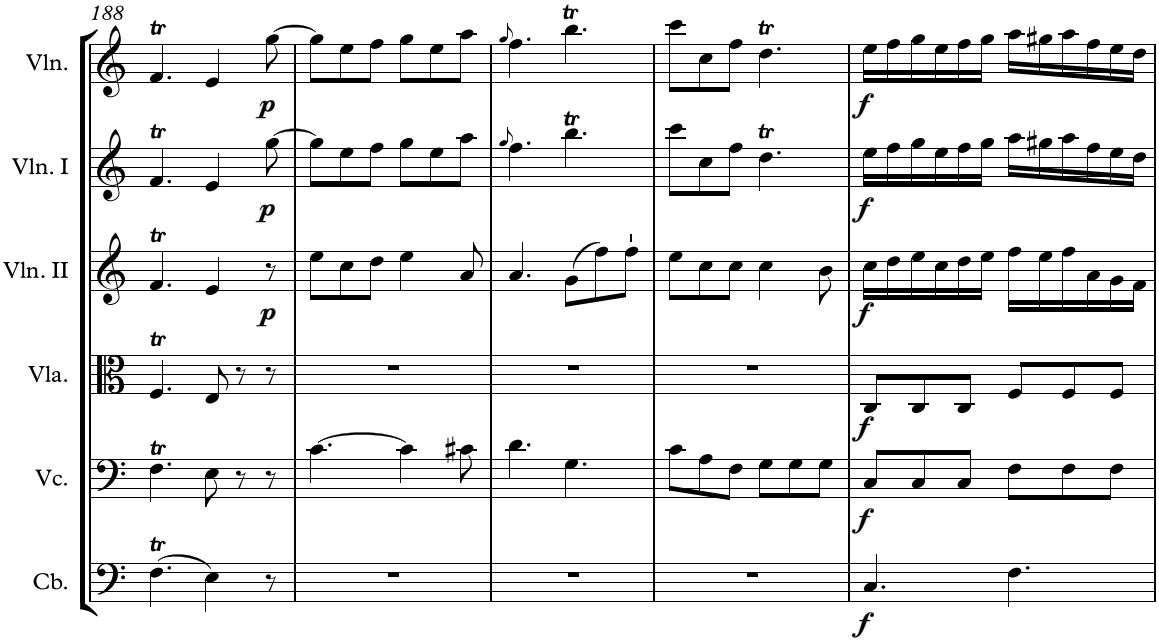

159
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

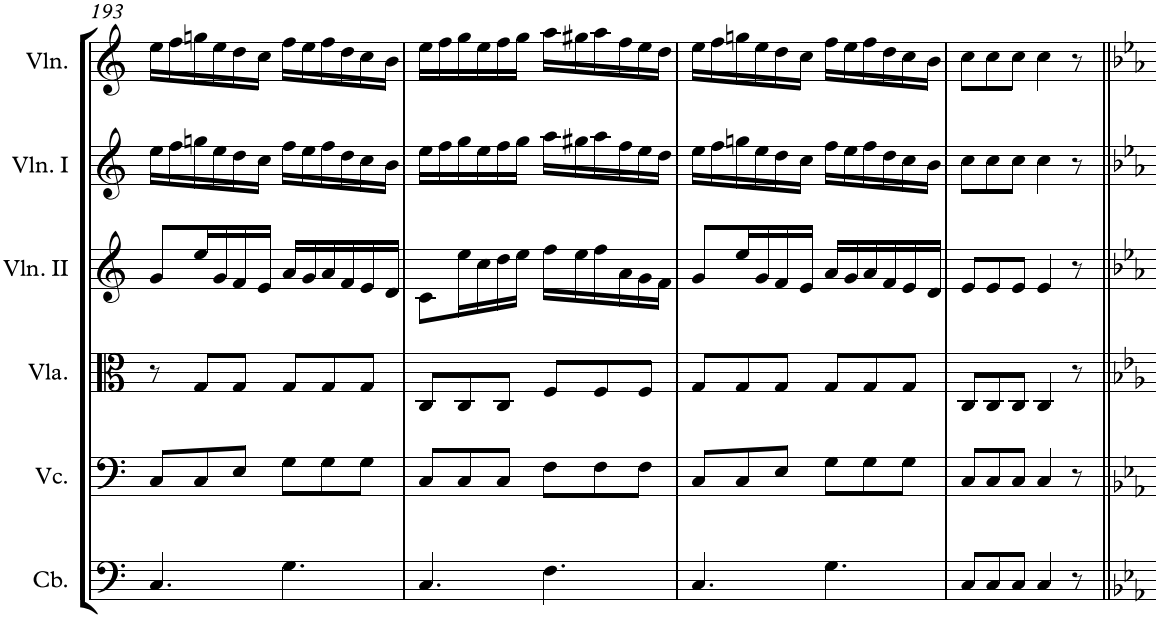

164
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tremando
tasto solo

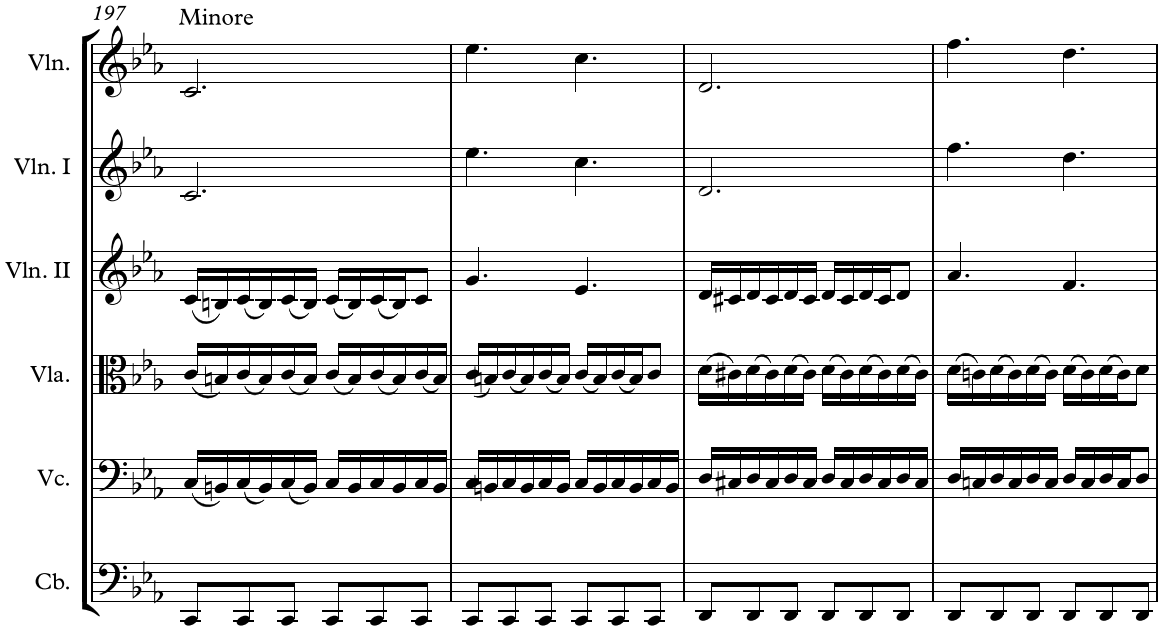

170
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
tr
tr

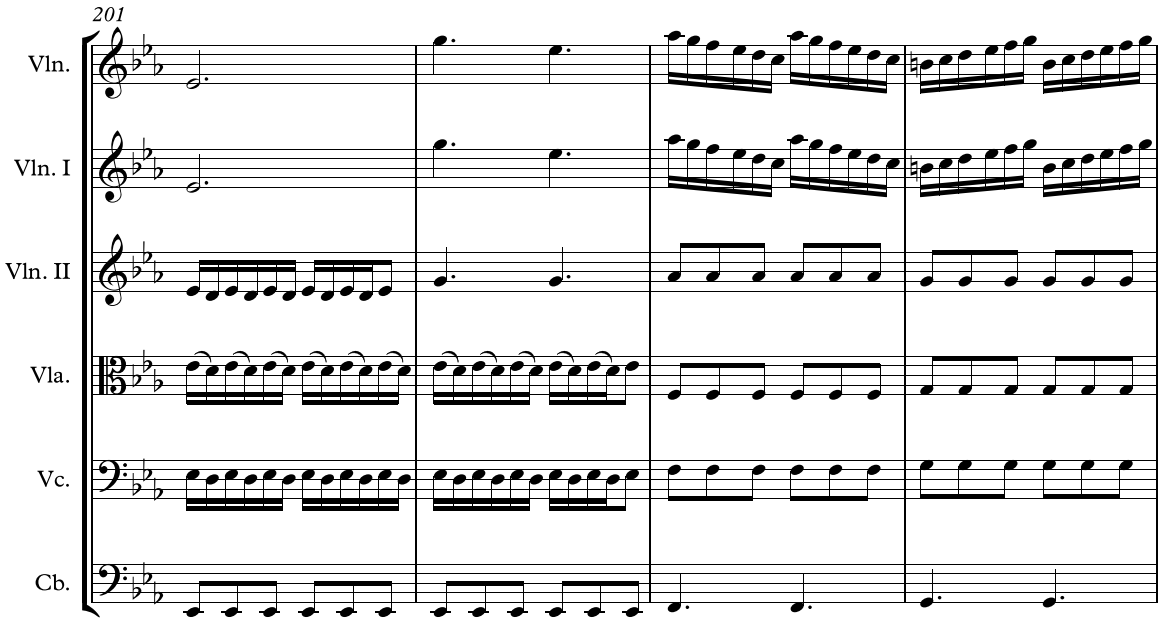

176
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

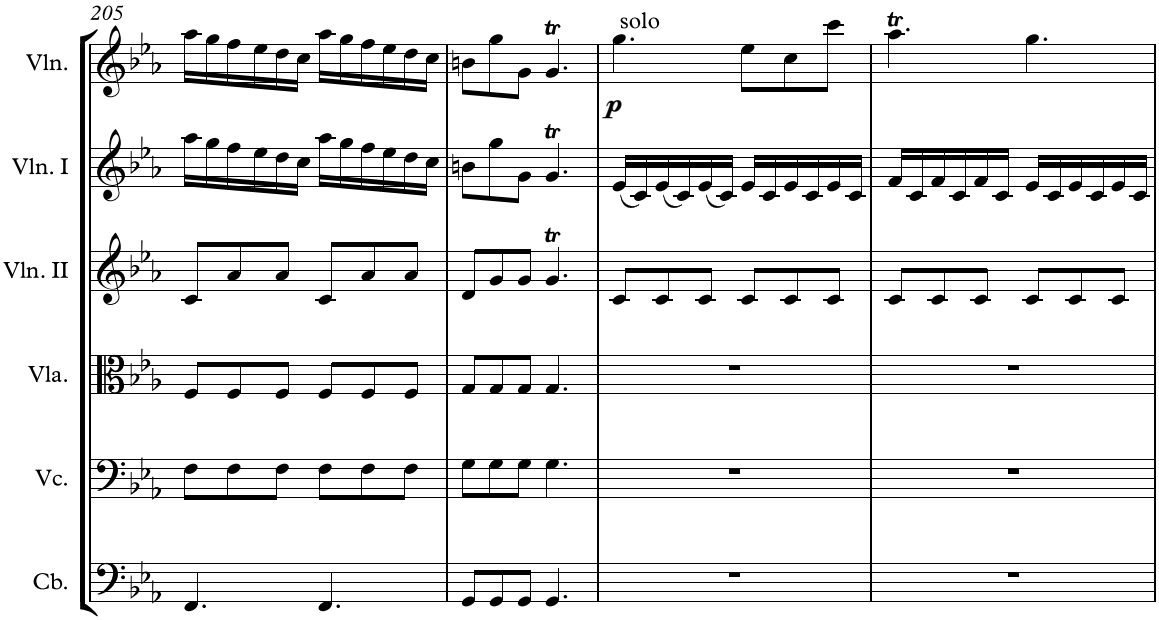

182
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
ff
tasto solo

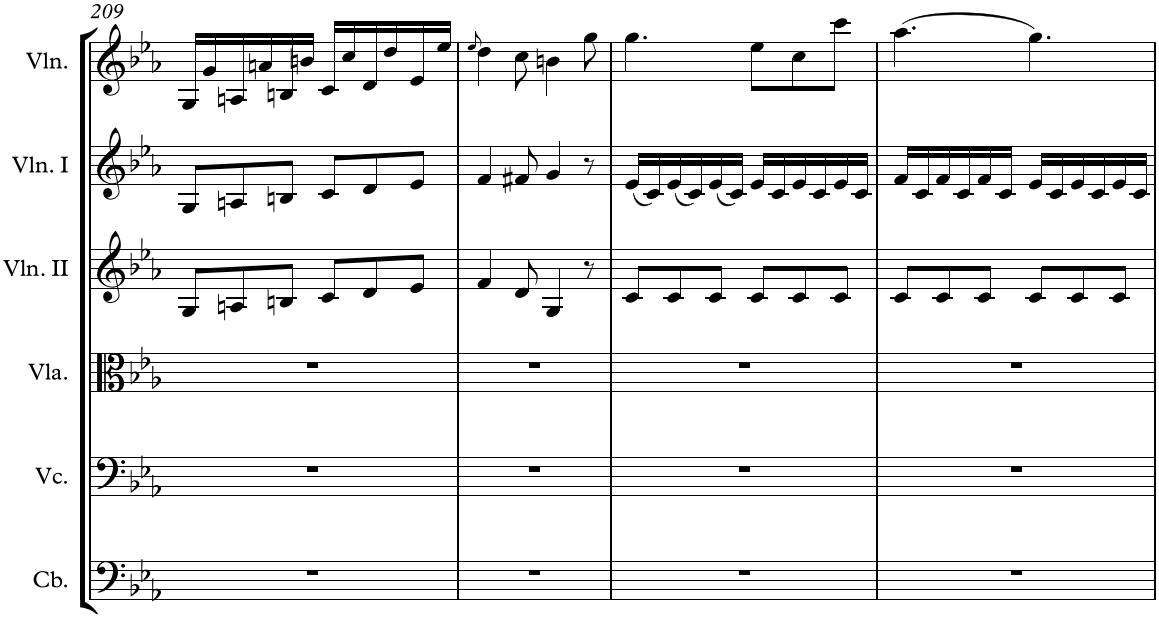

188
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
p
f

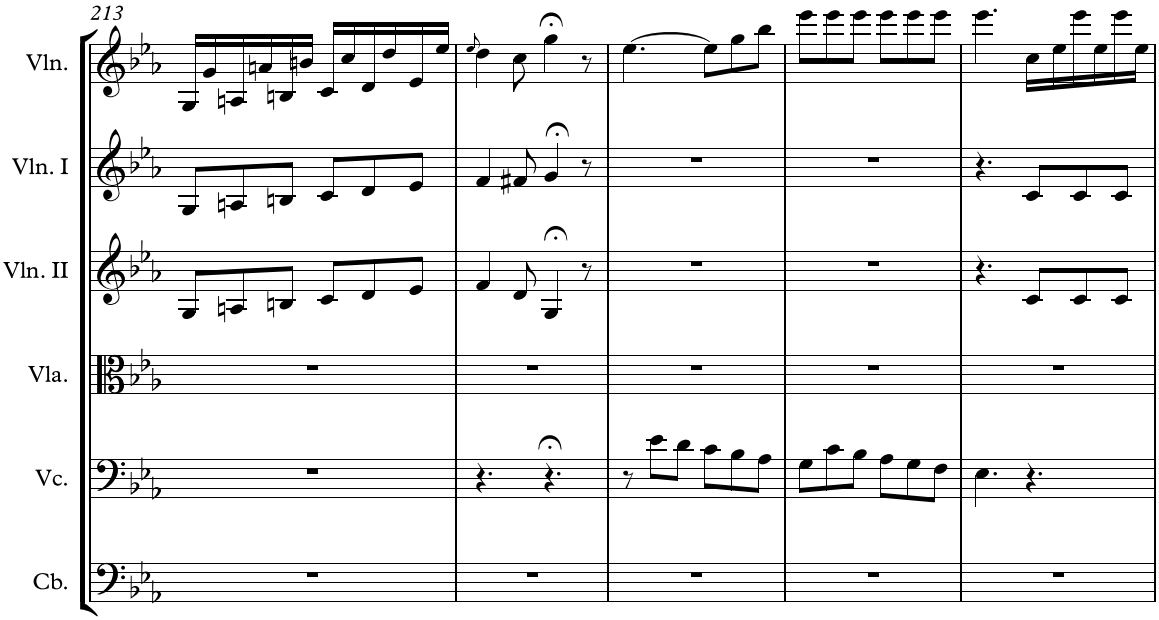

193
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

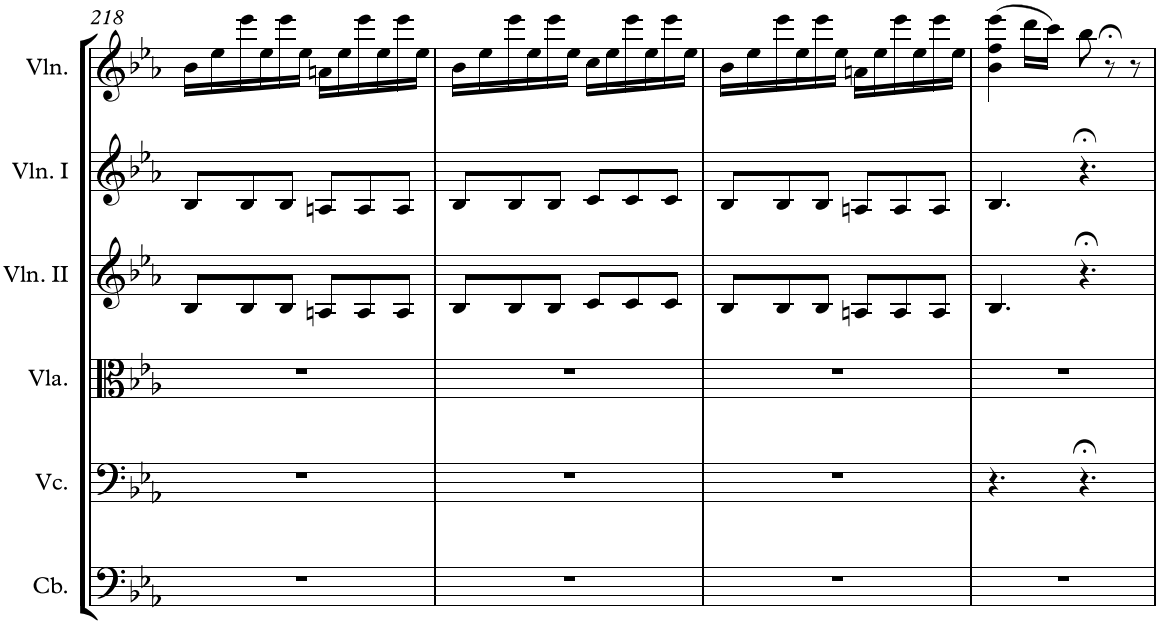

197
Minore
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

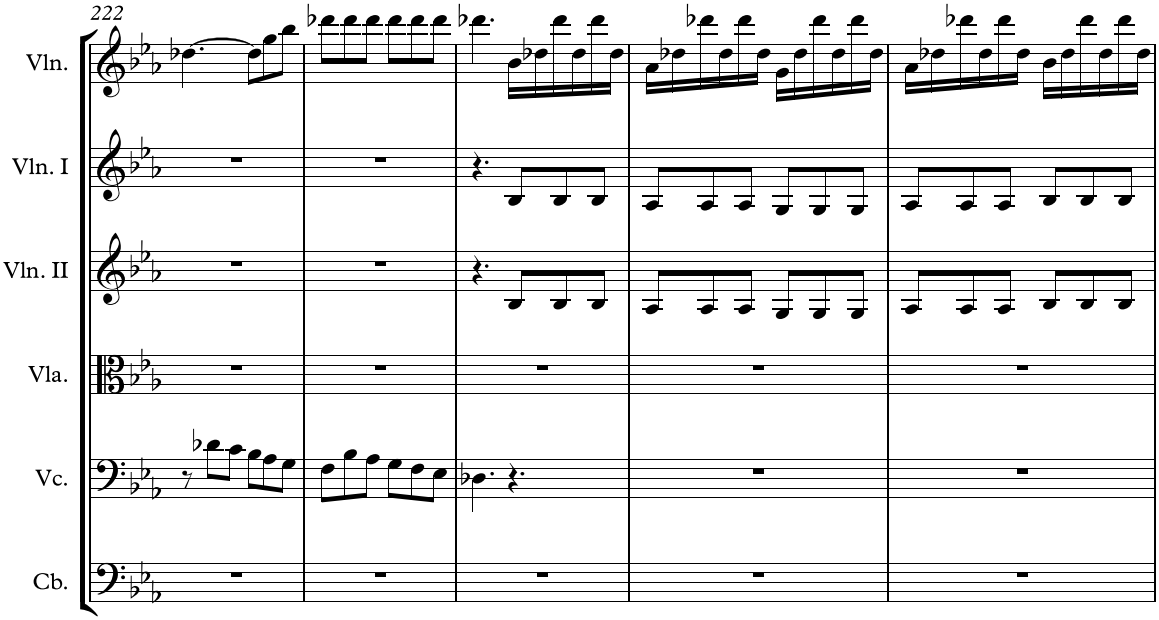

201
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

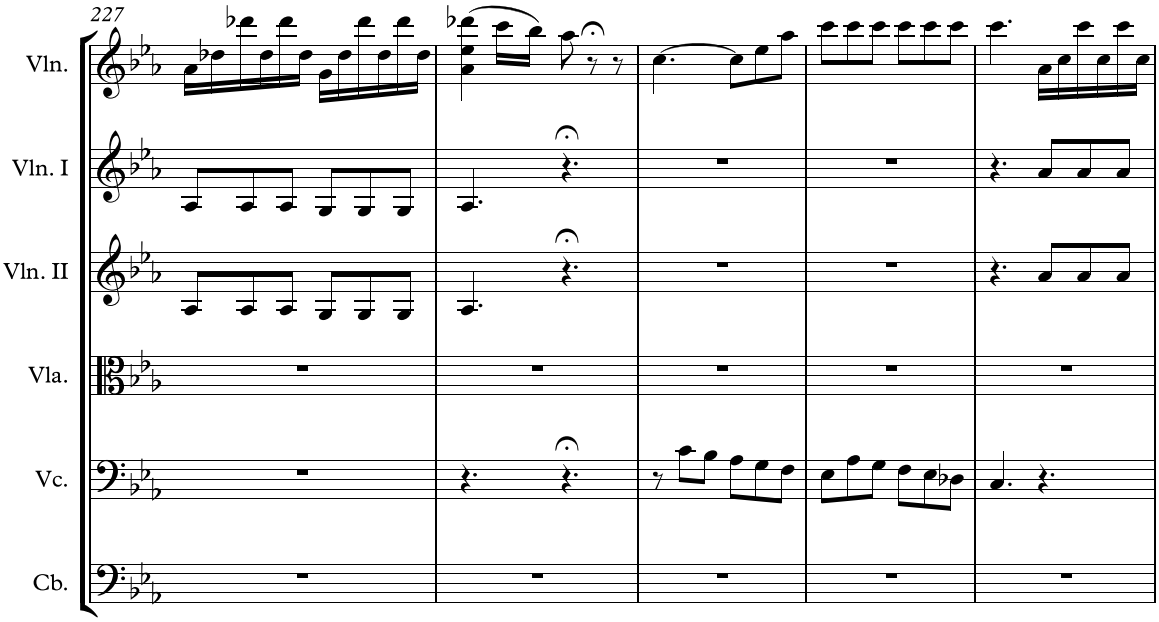

205
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
solo
p

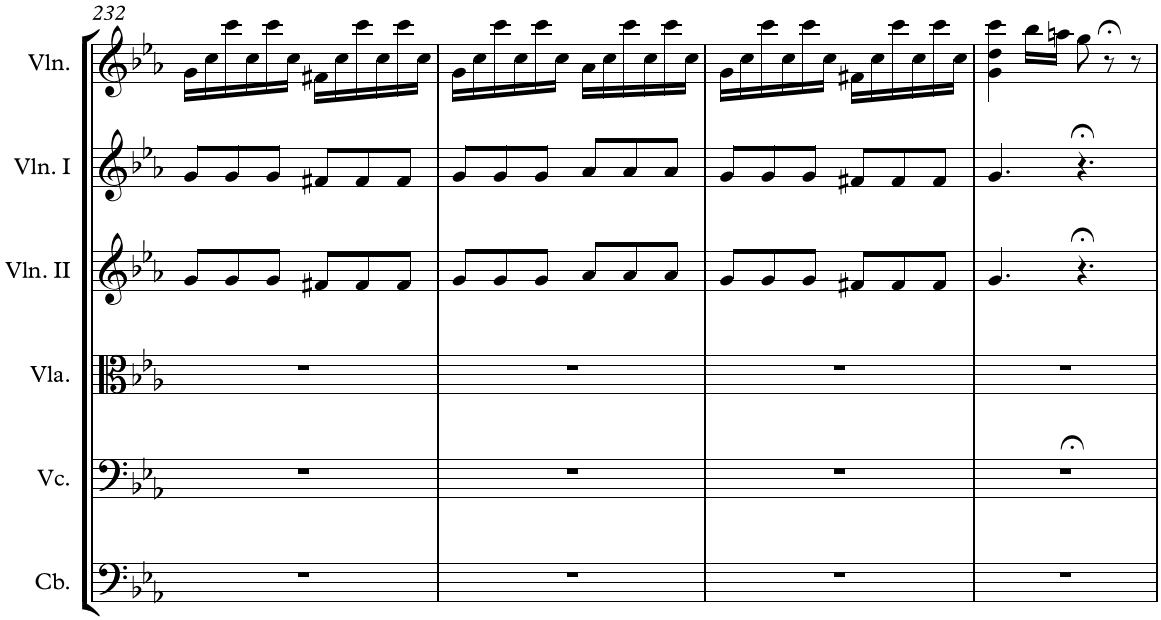

209
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

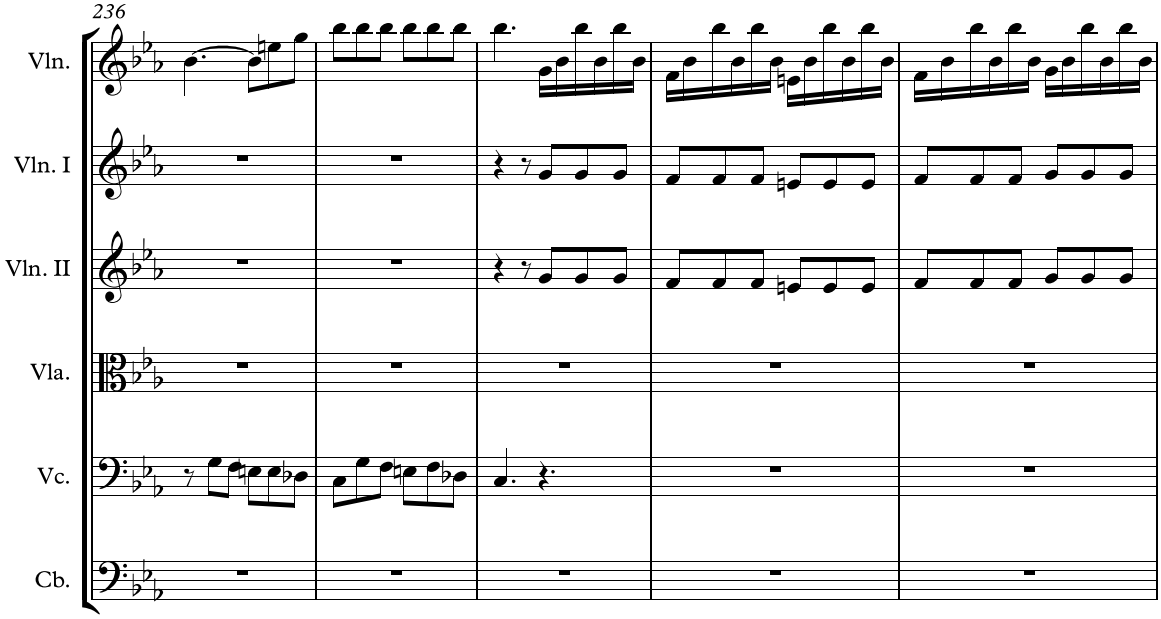

213
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

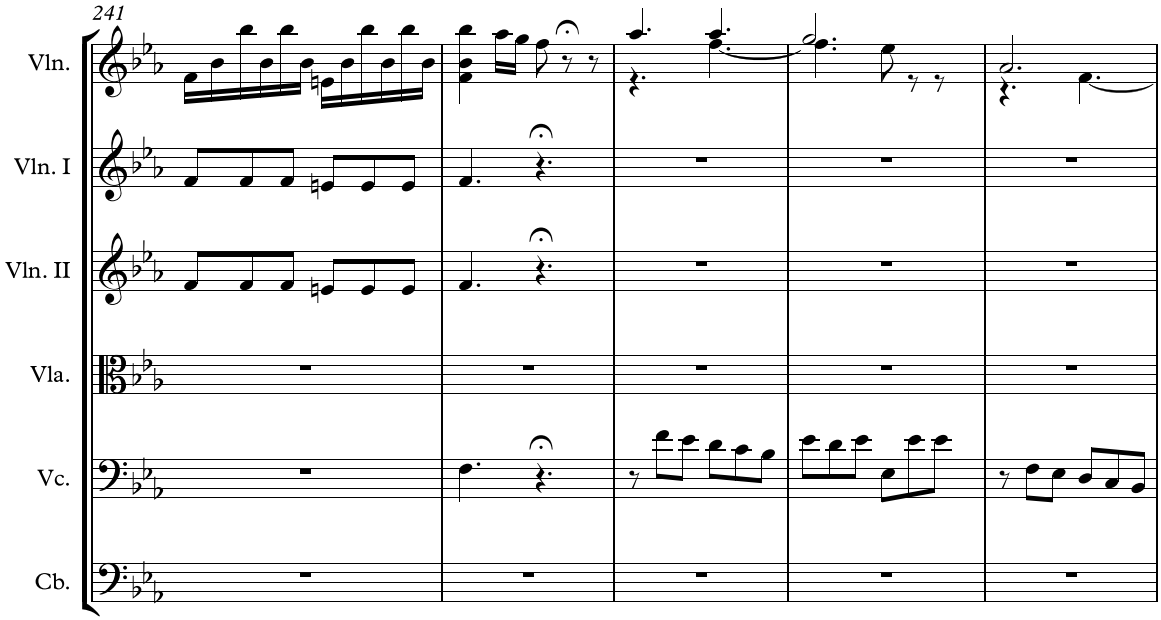

218
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

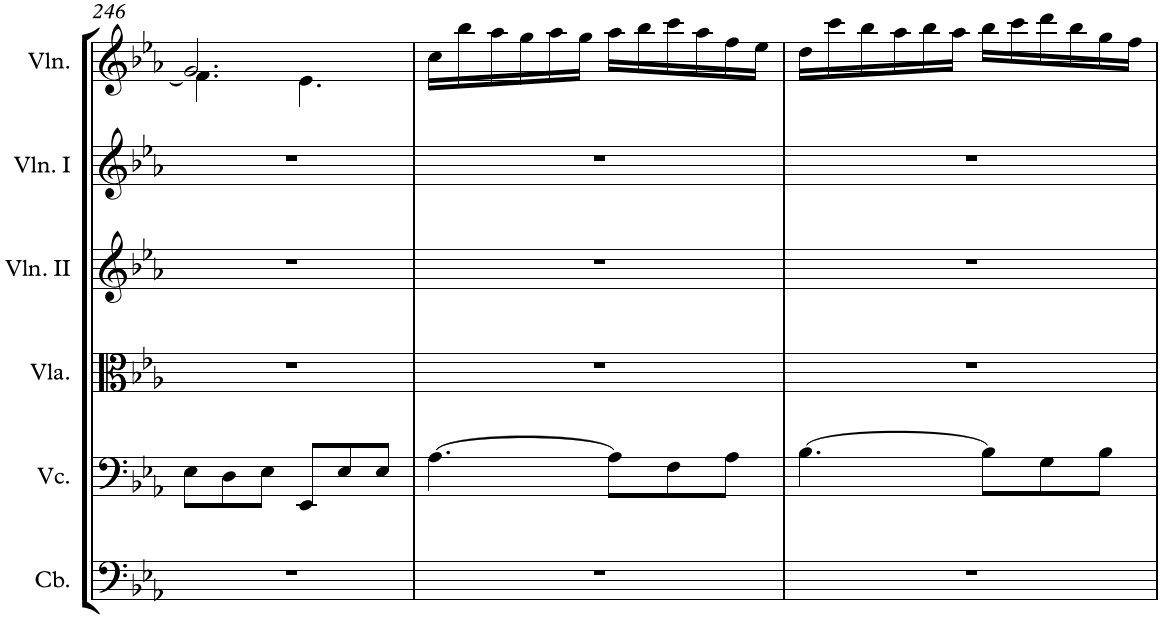

222
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

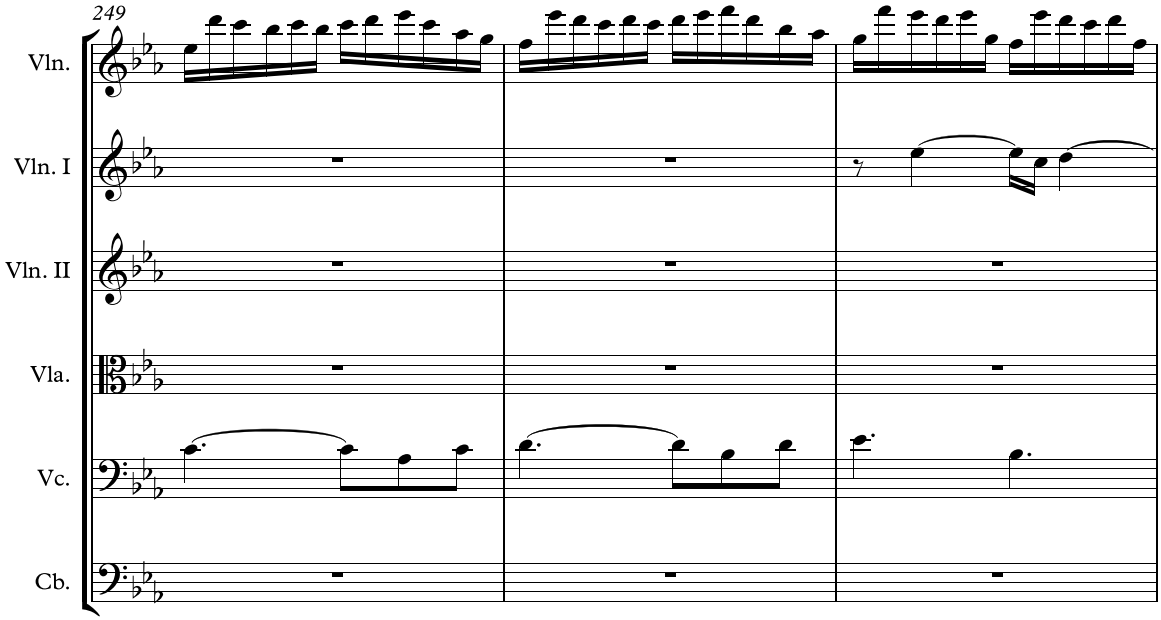

227
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

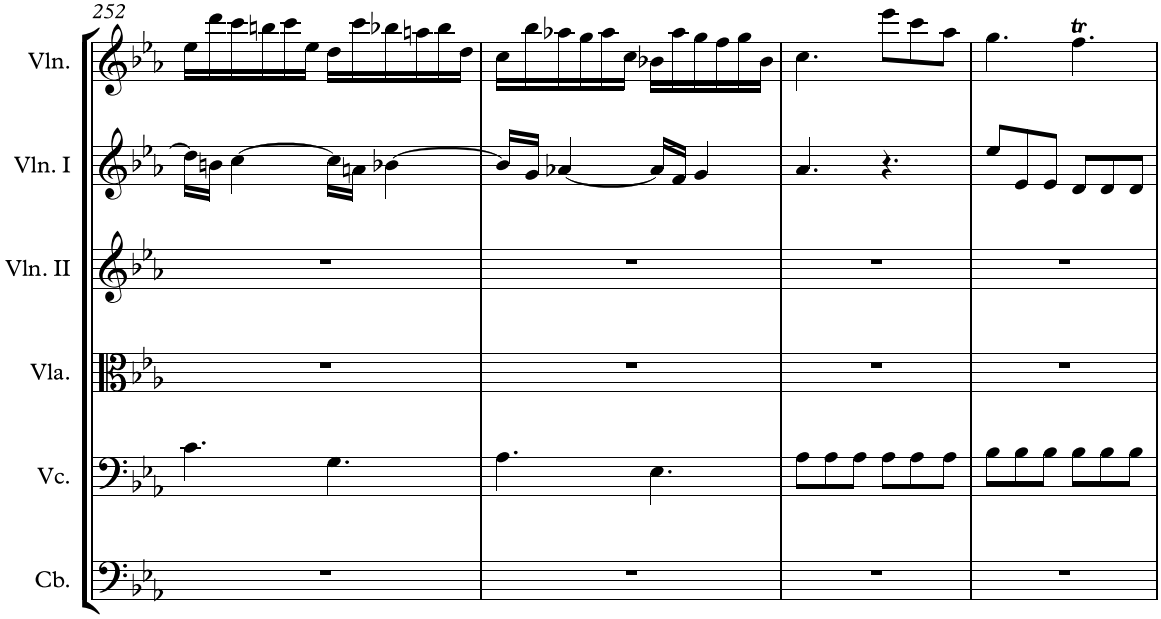

232
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

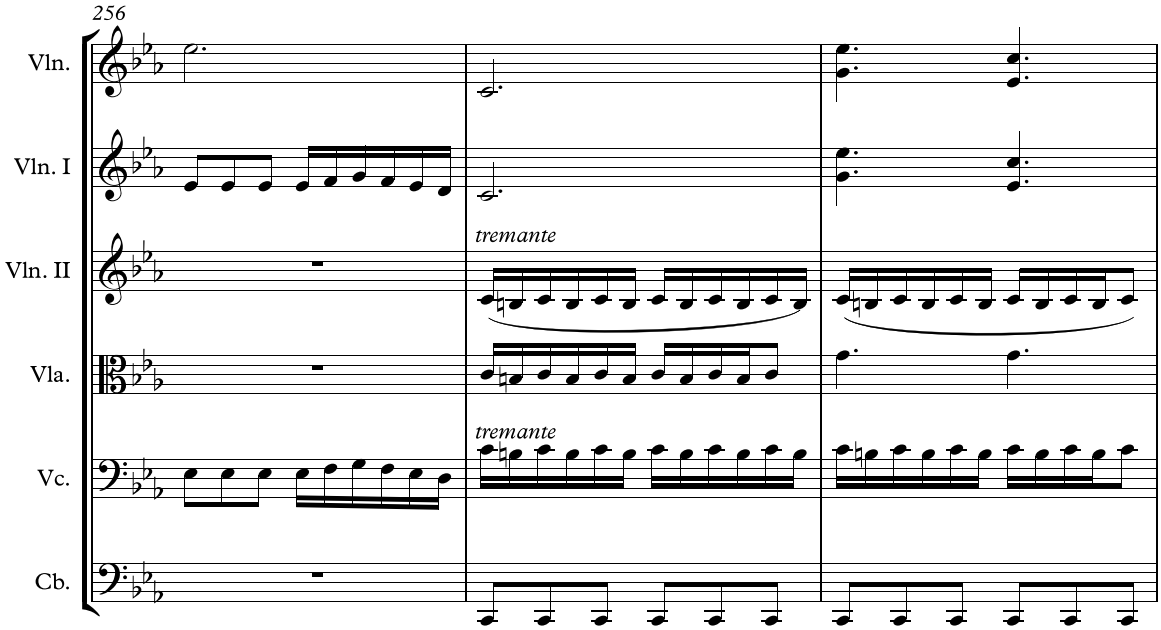

236
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

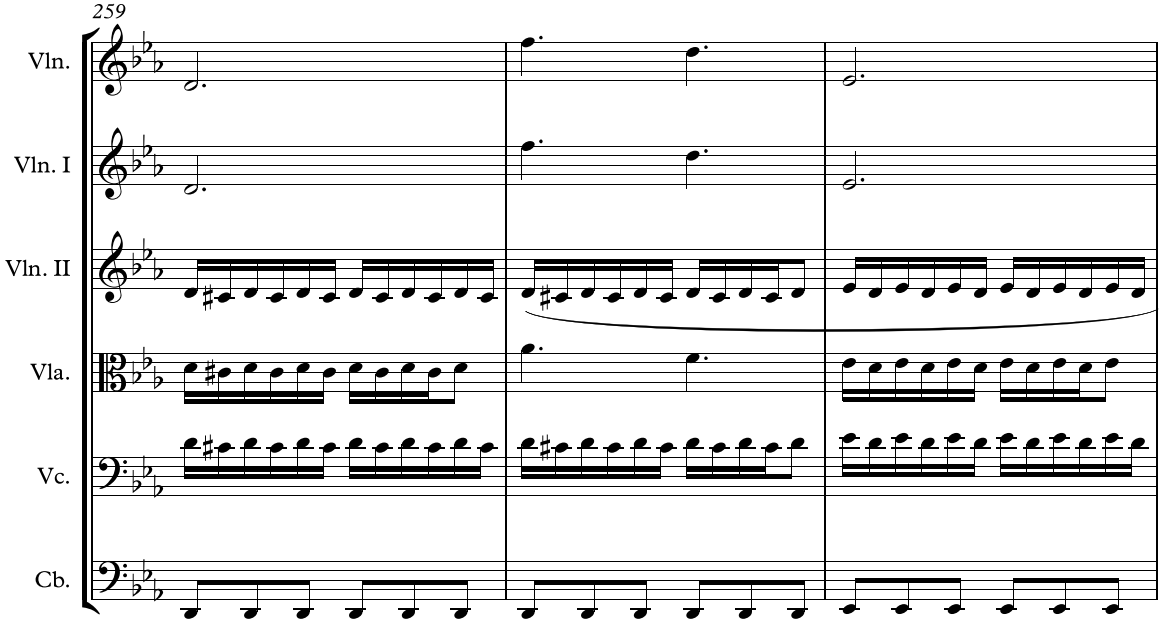

241
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

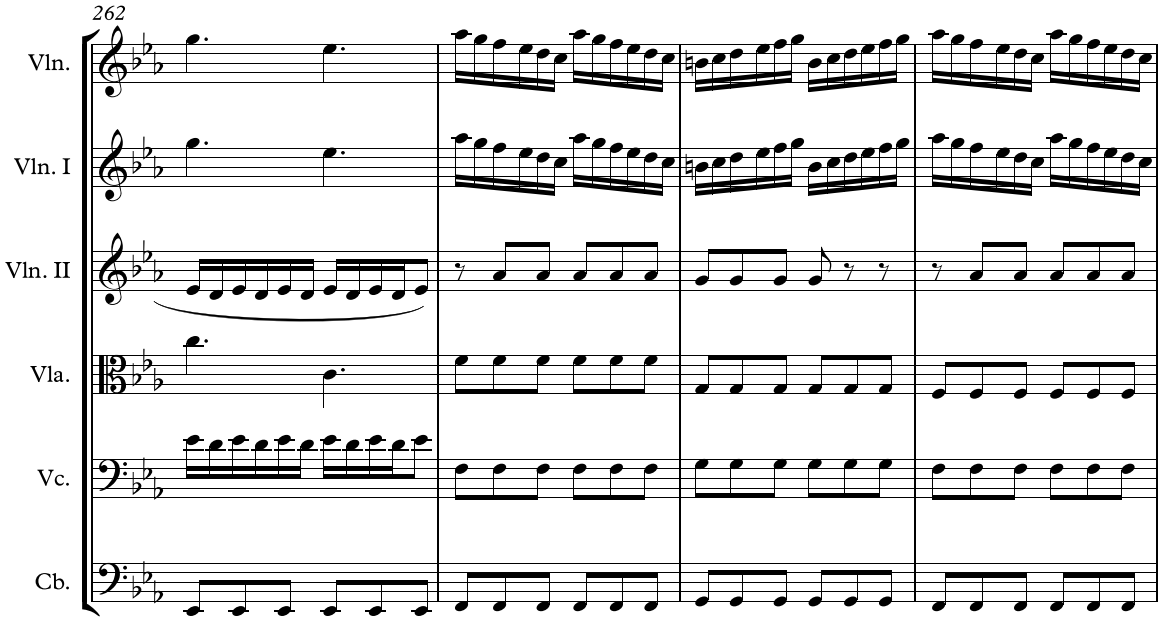

246
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

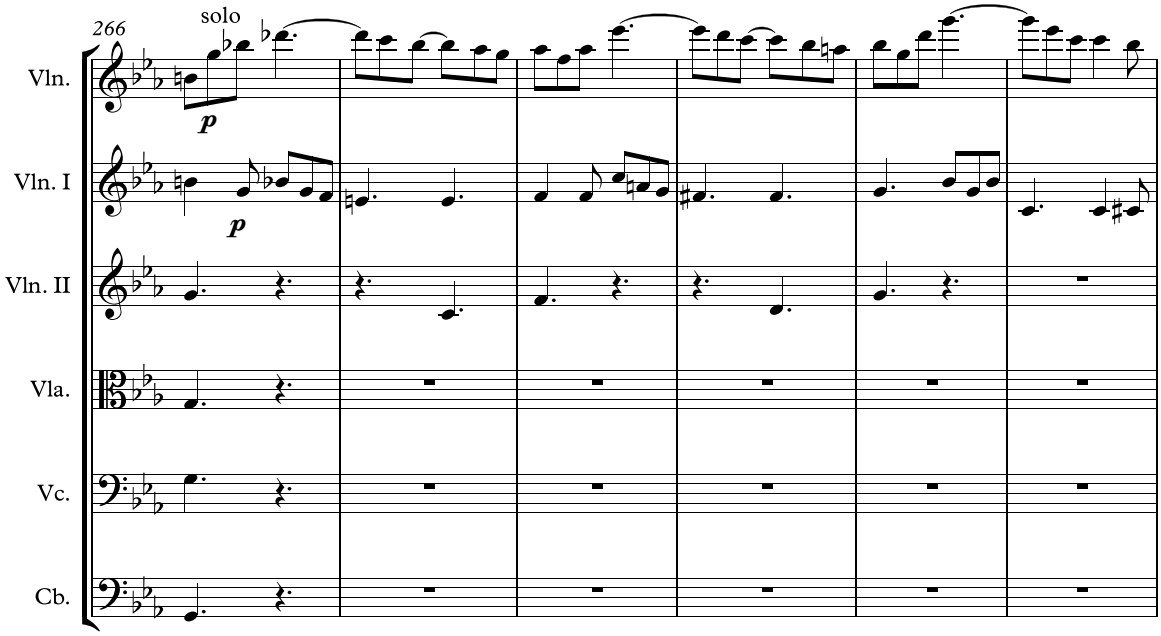

249
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

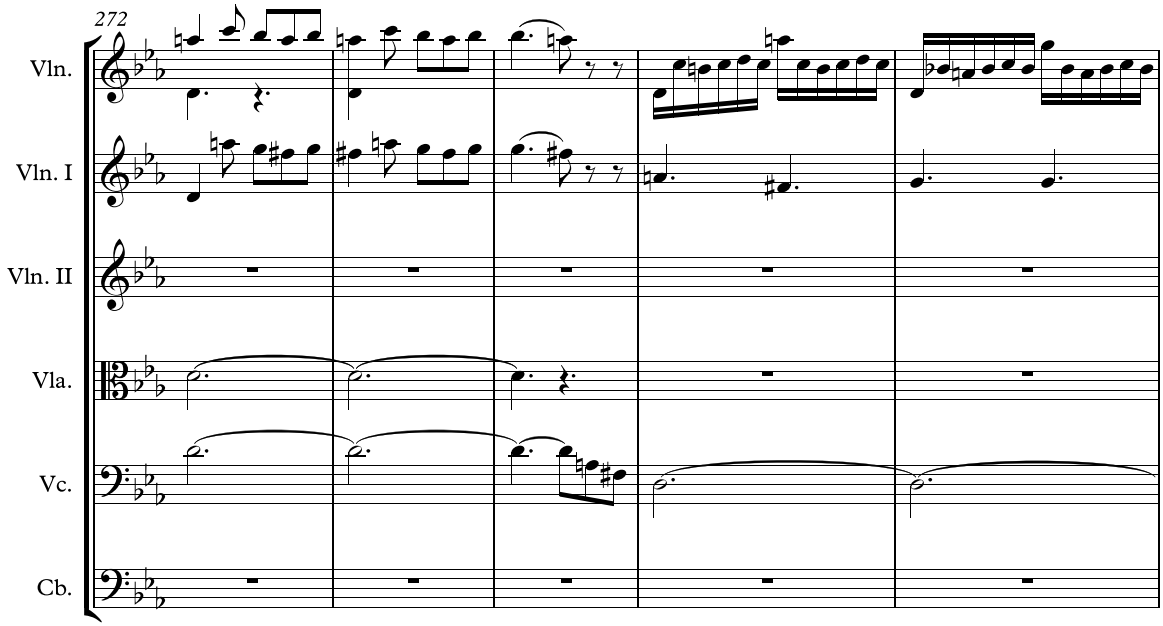

252
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr

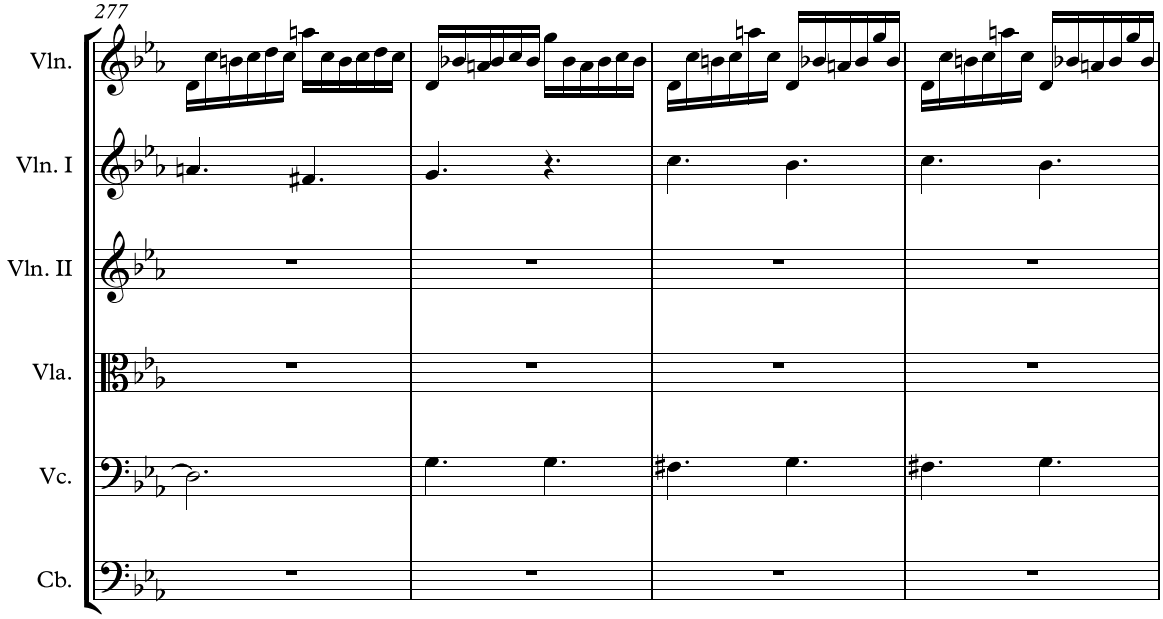

256
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
tremante
Vla.
tremante
Vc.
Cb.

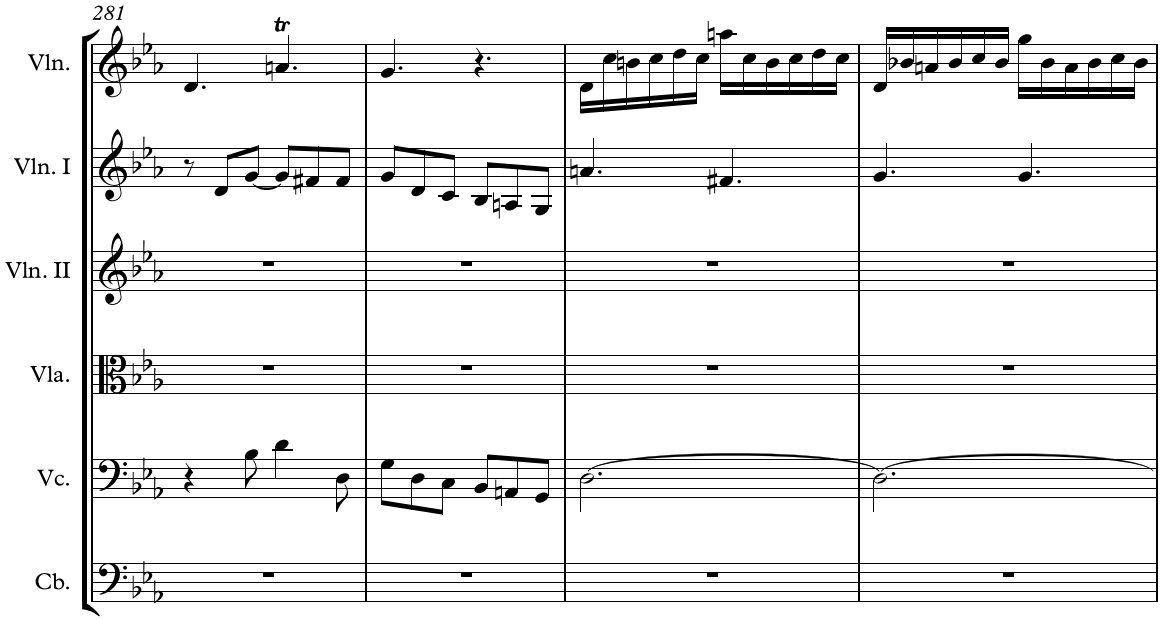

259
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

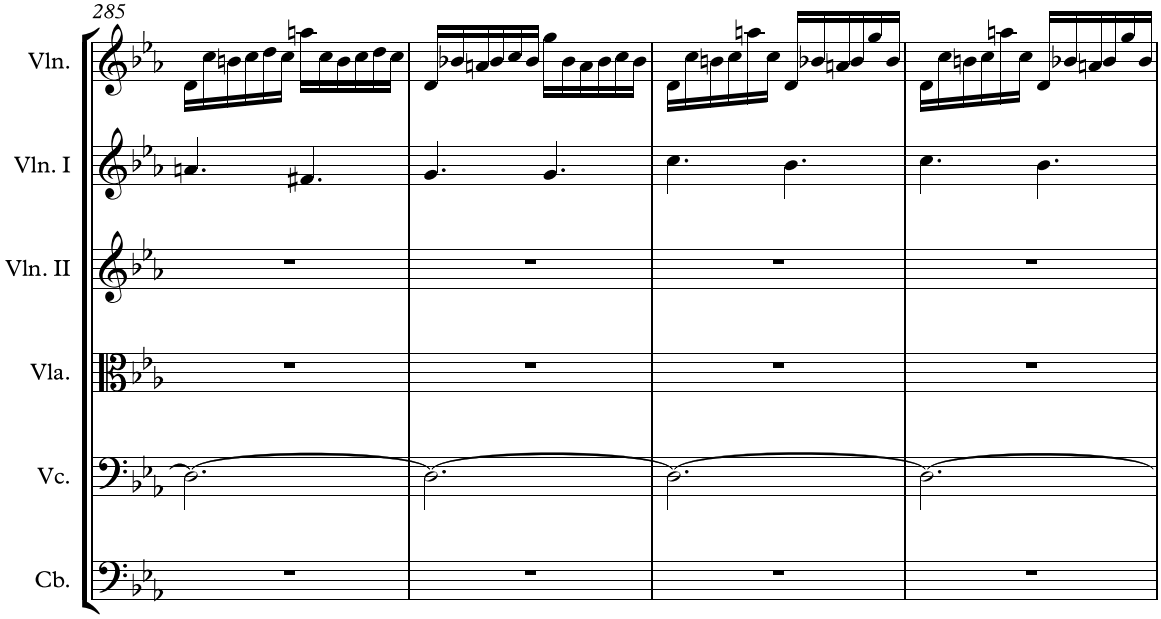

262
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

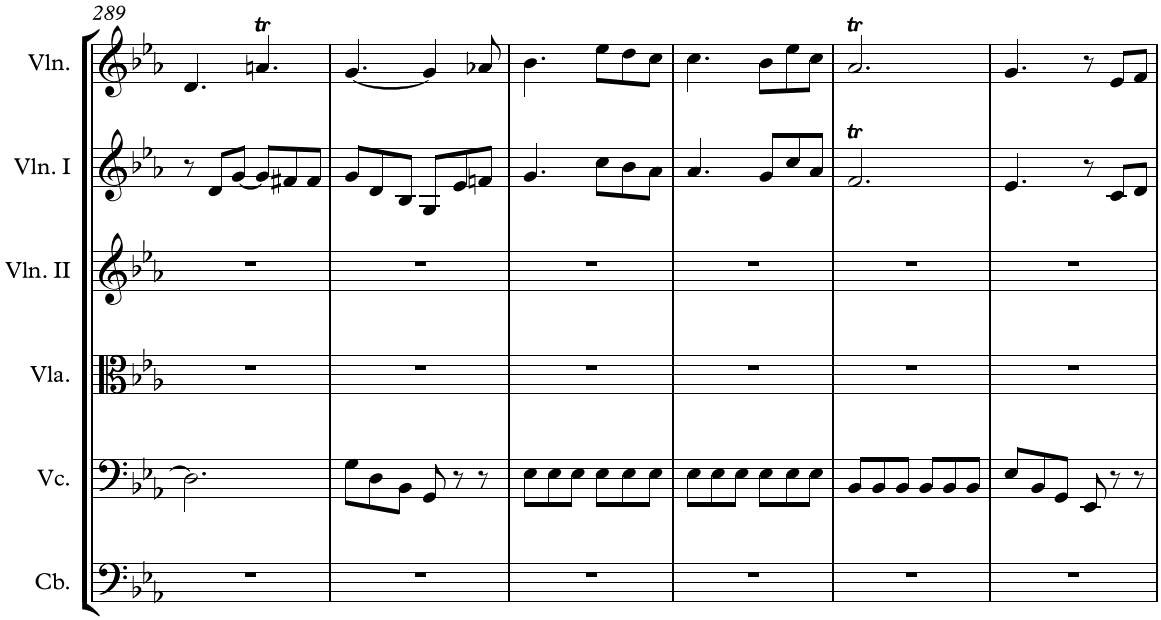

266
solo
p
p
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

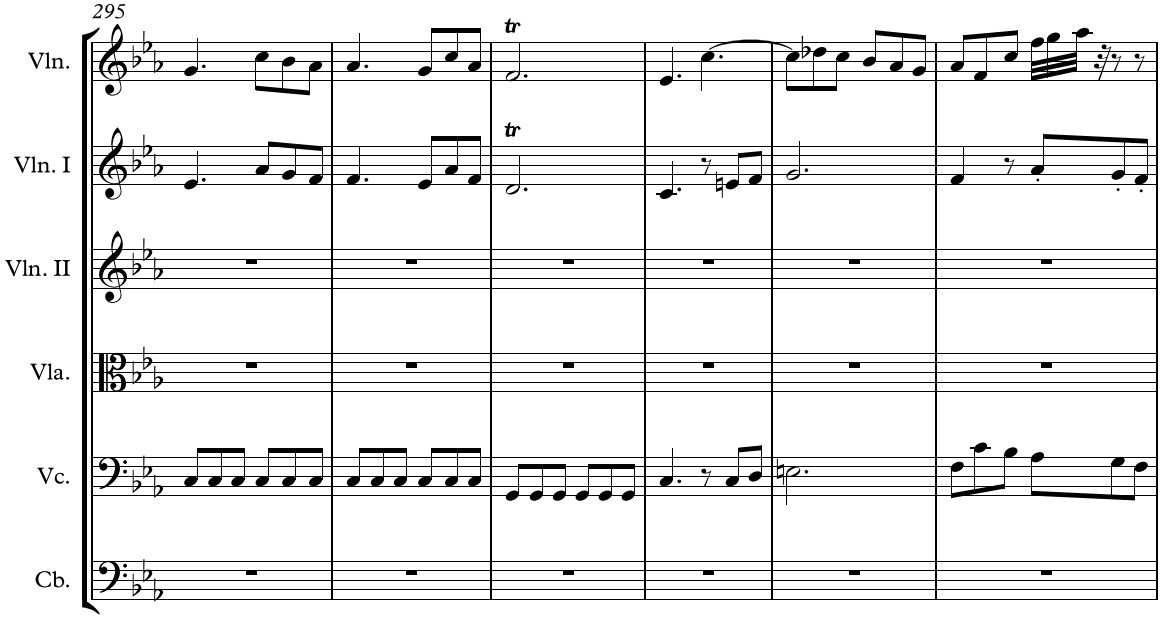

272
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

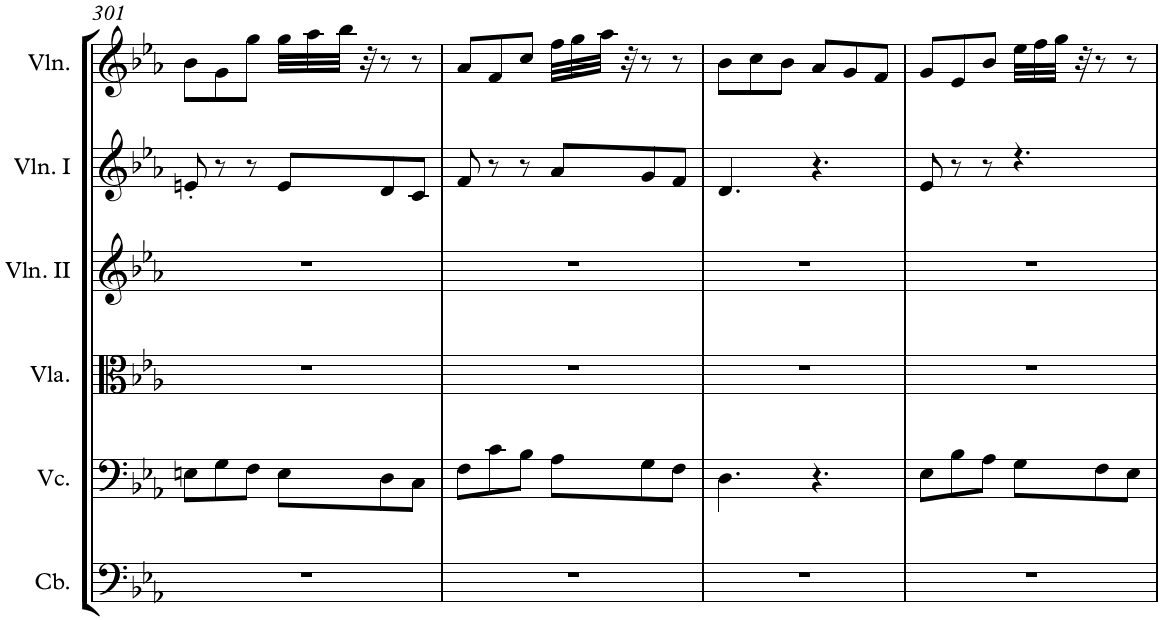

277
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

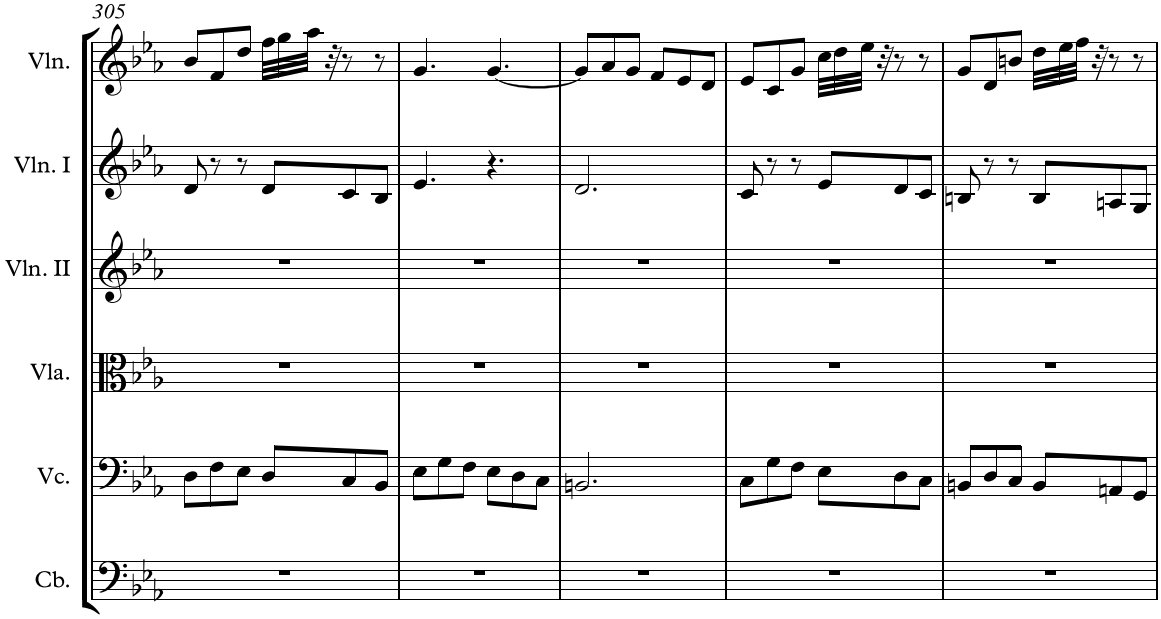

281
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

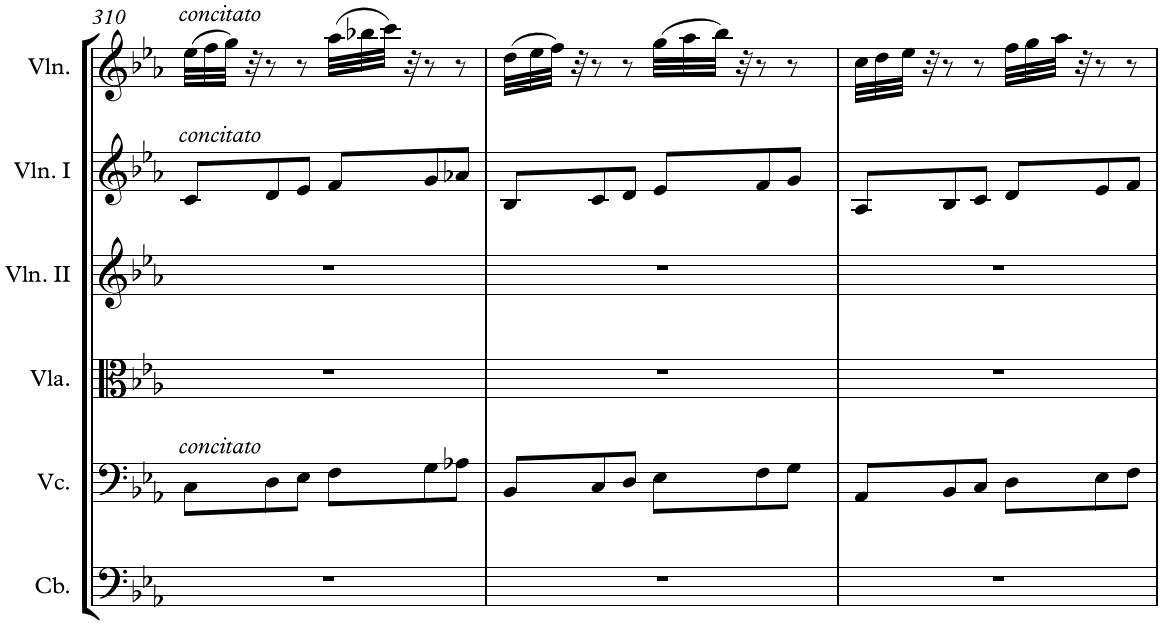

285
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

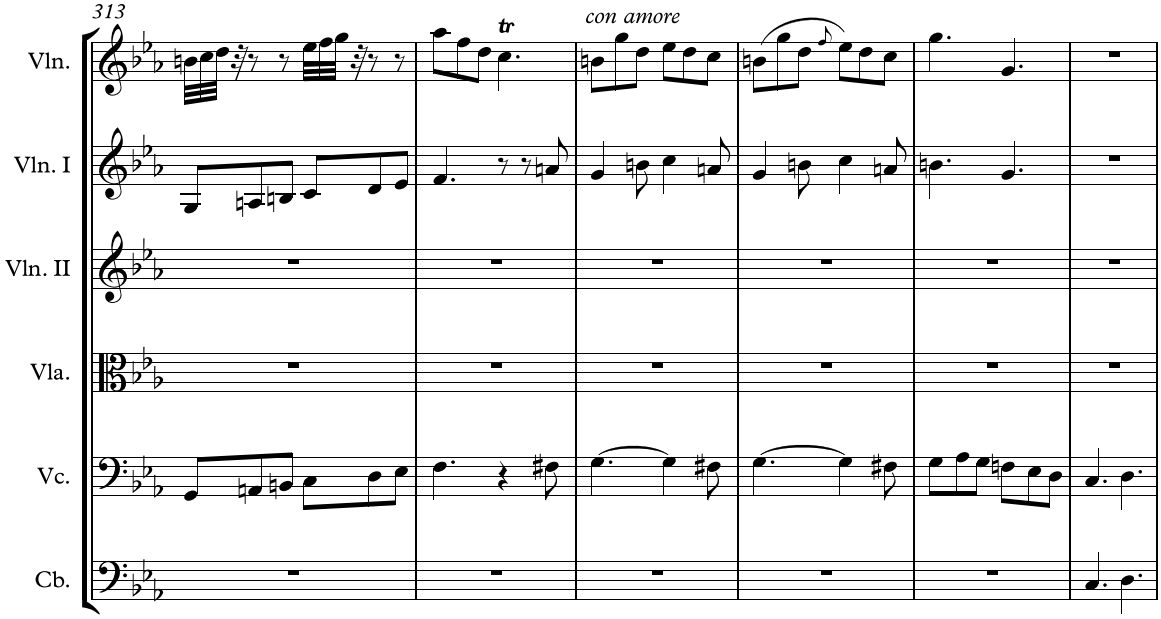

289
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

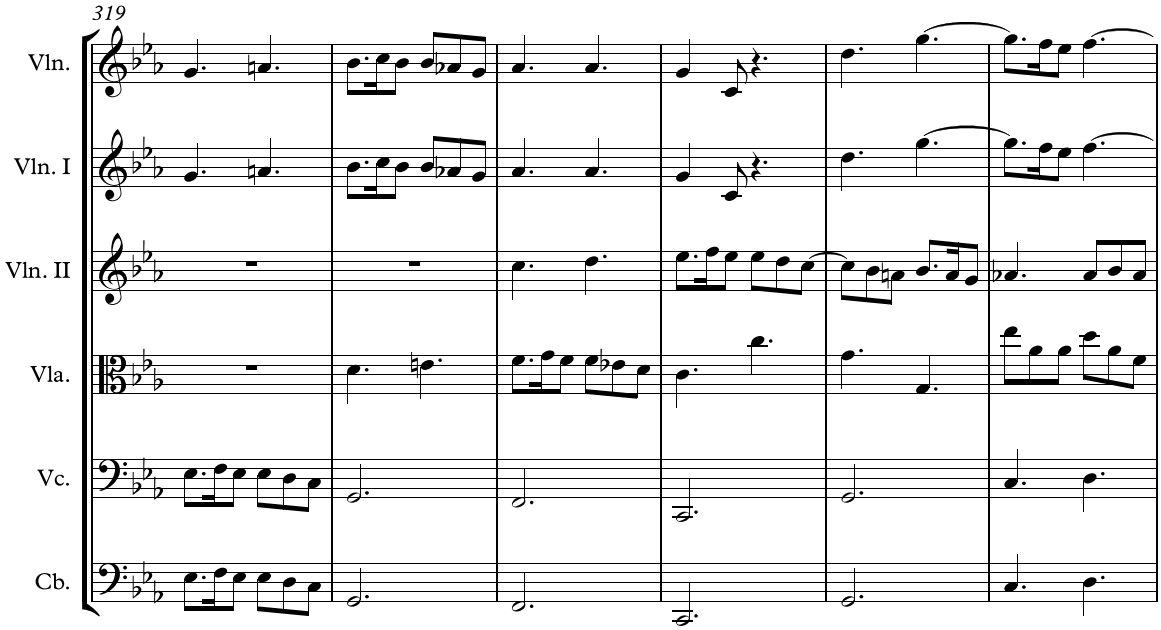

295
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

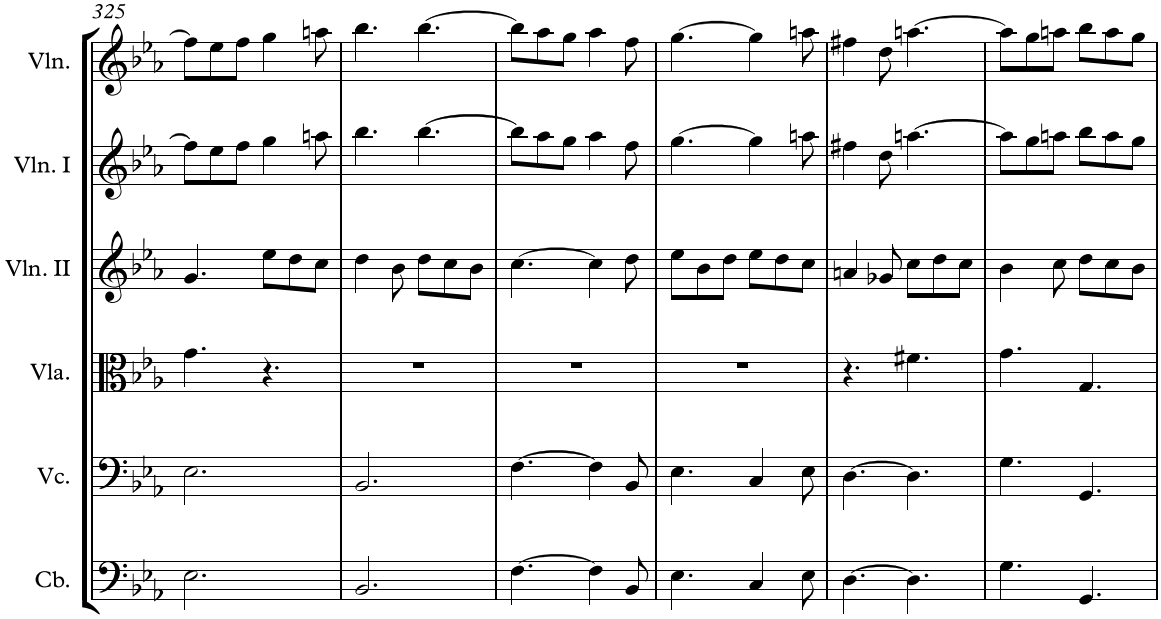

301
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

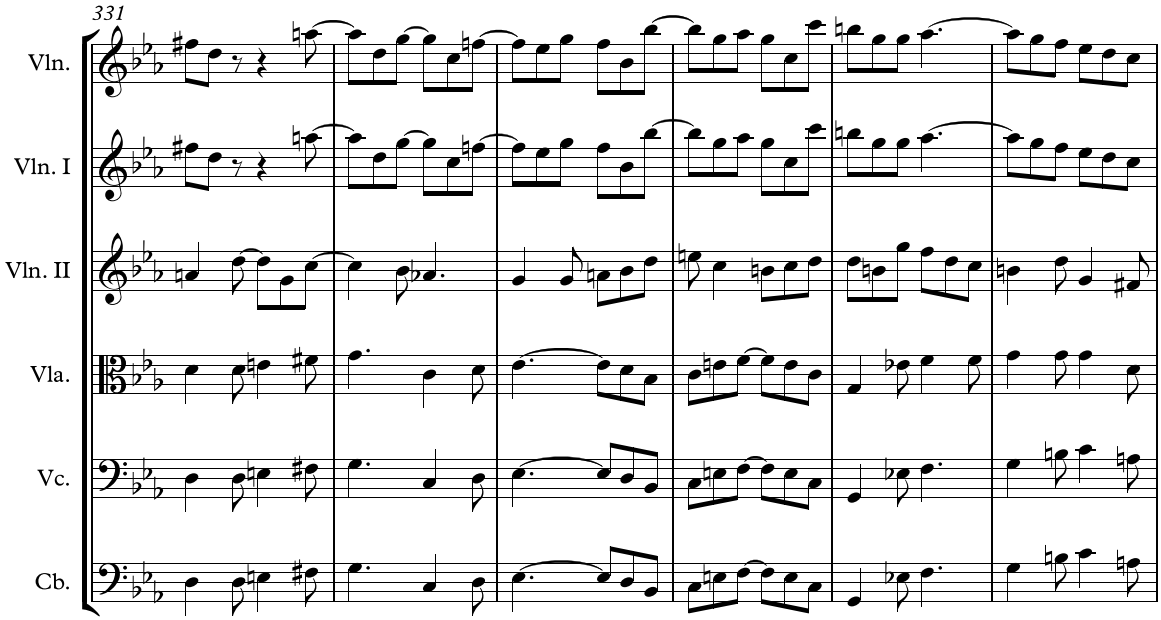

305
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

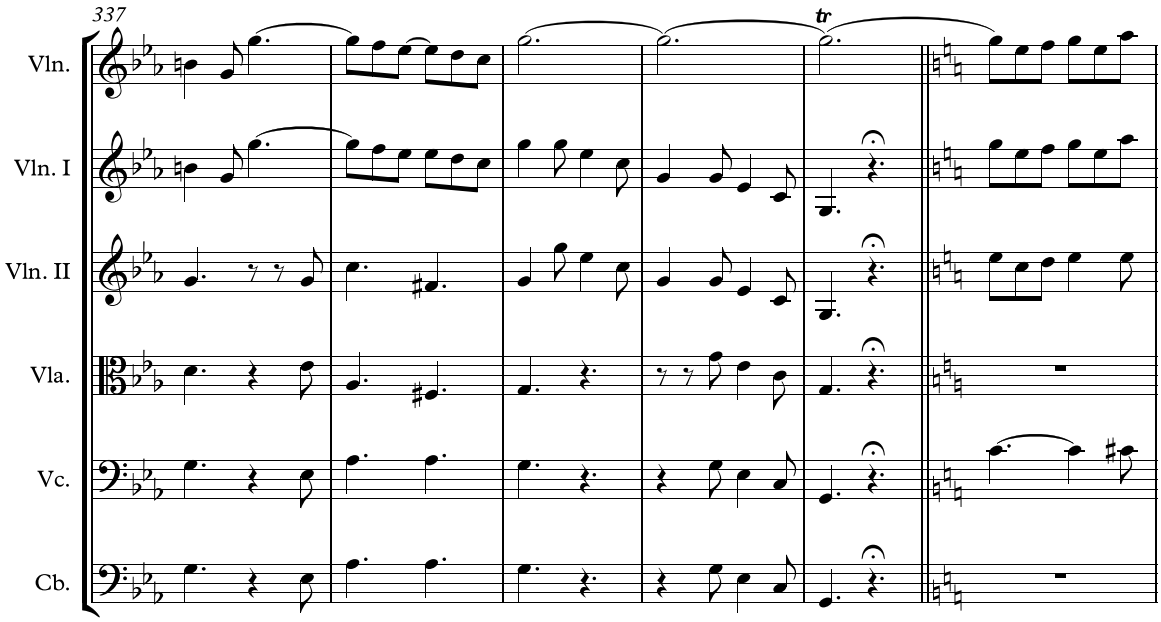

310
concitato
Vln.
concitato
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
concitato
Vc.
Cb.

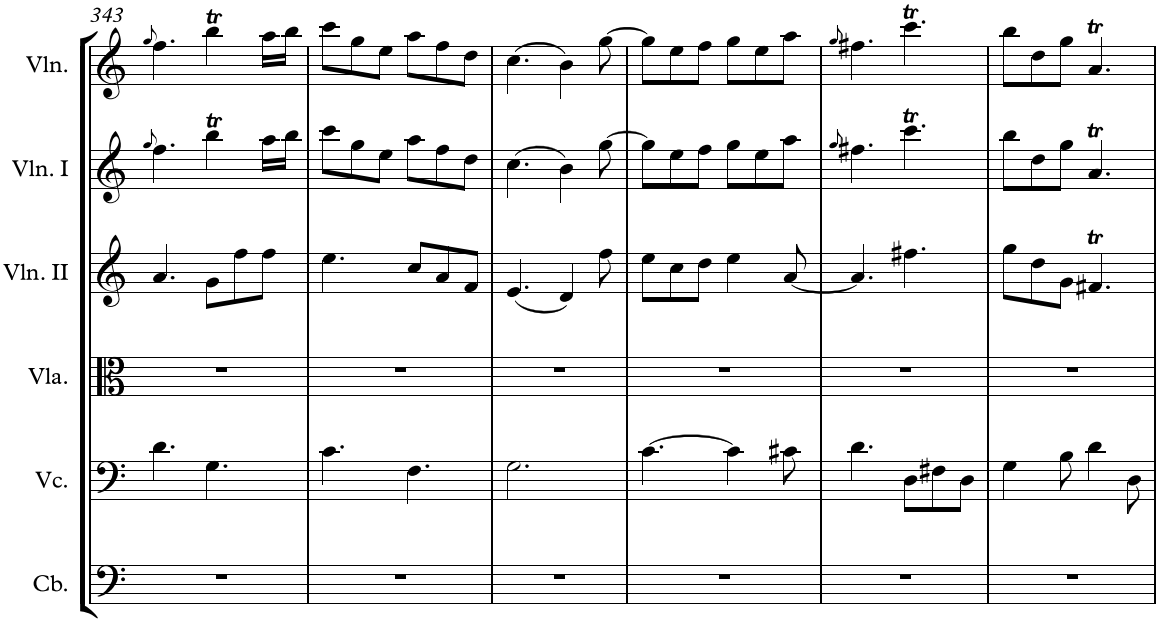

313
tr
con amore
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

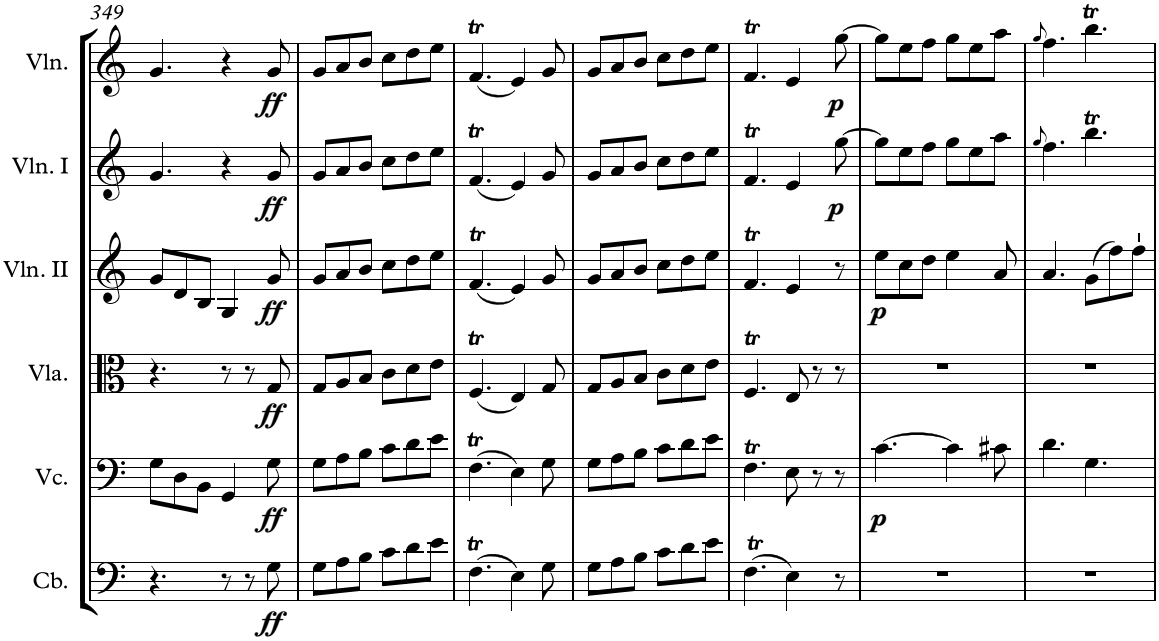

319
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

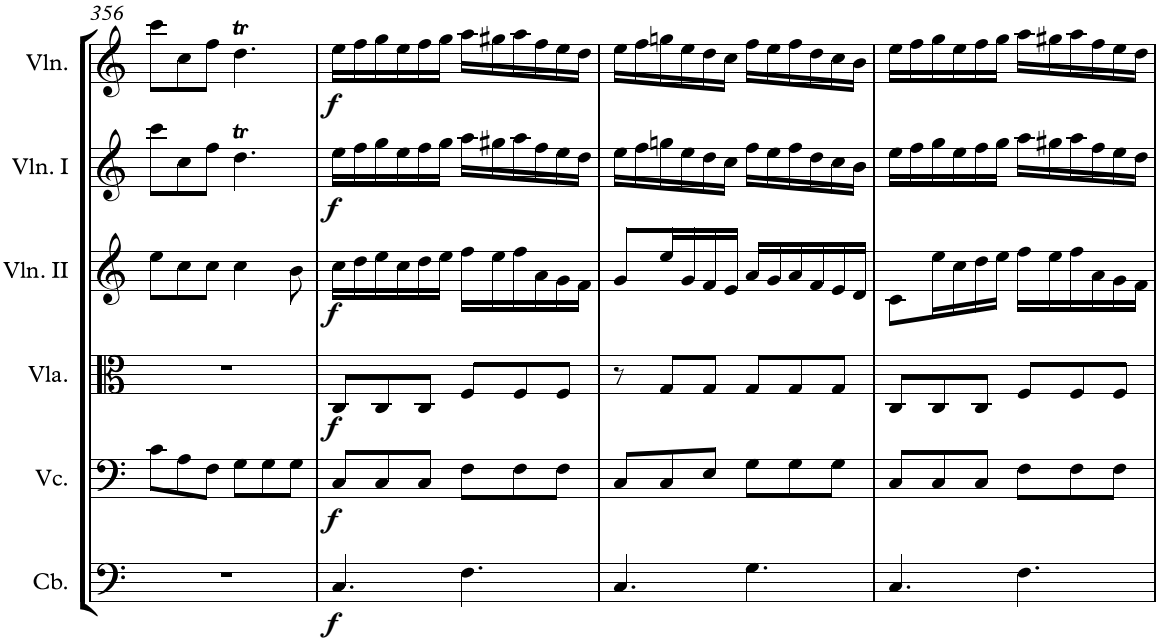

325
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

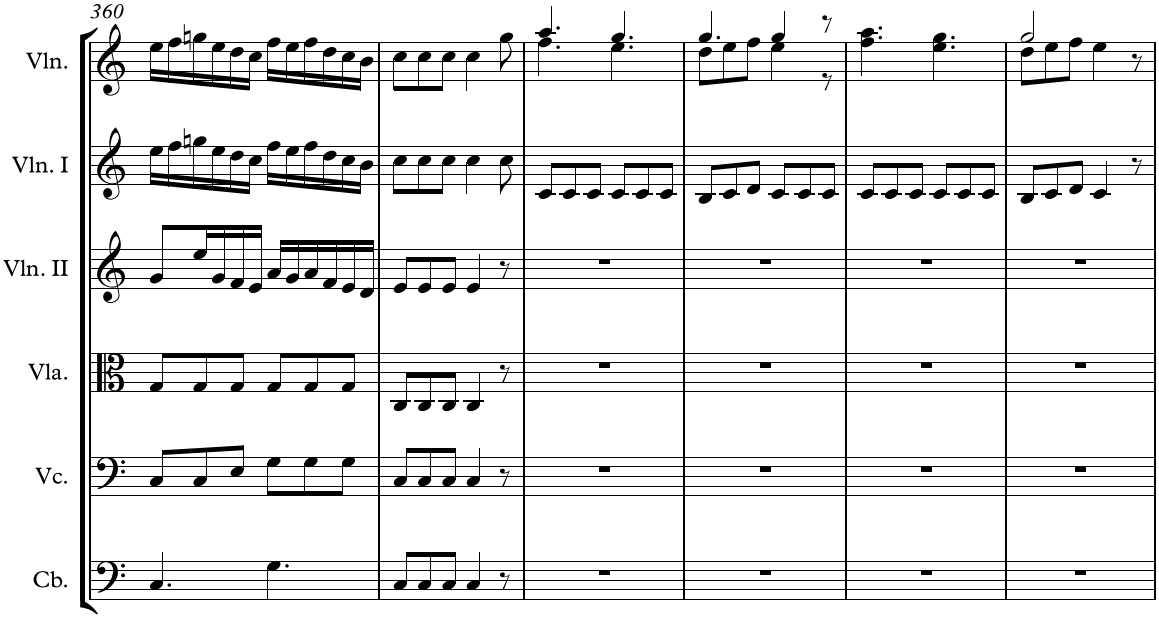

331
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

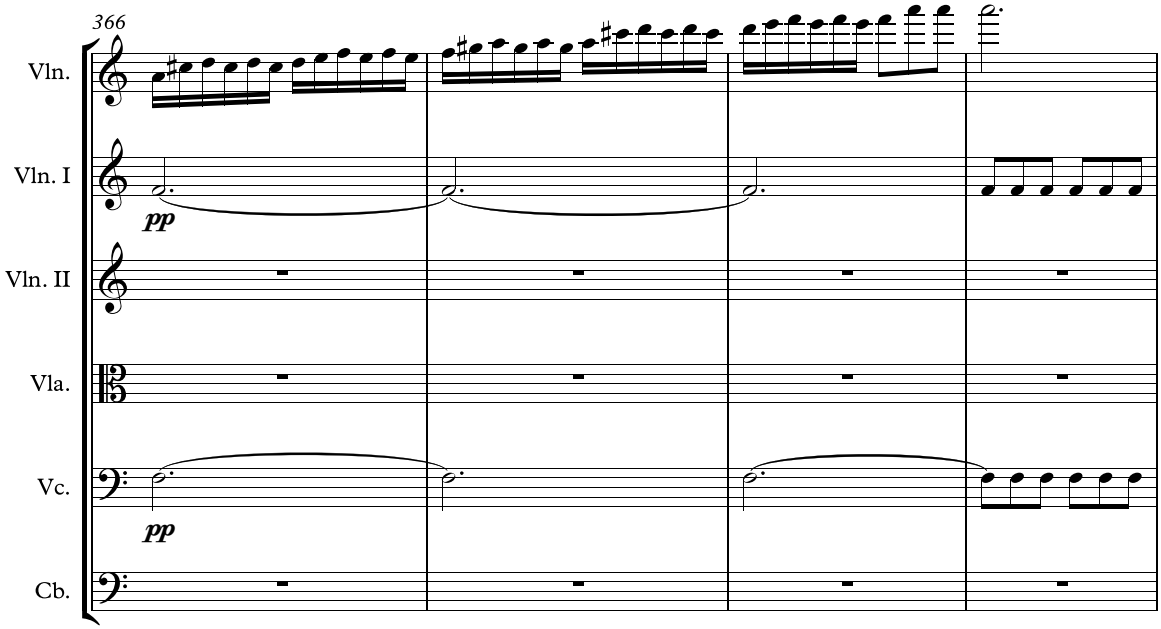

337
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

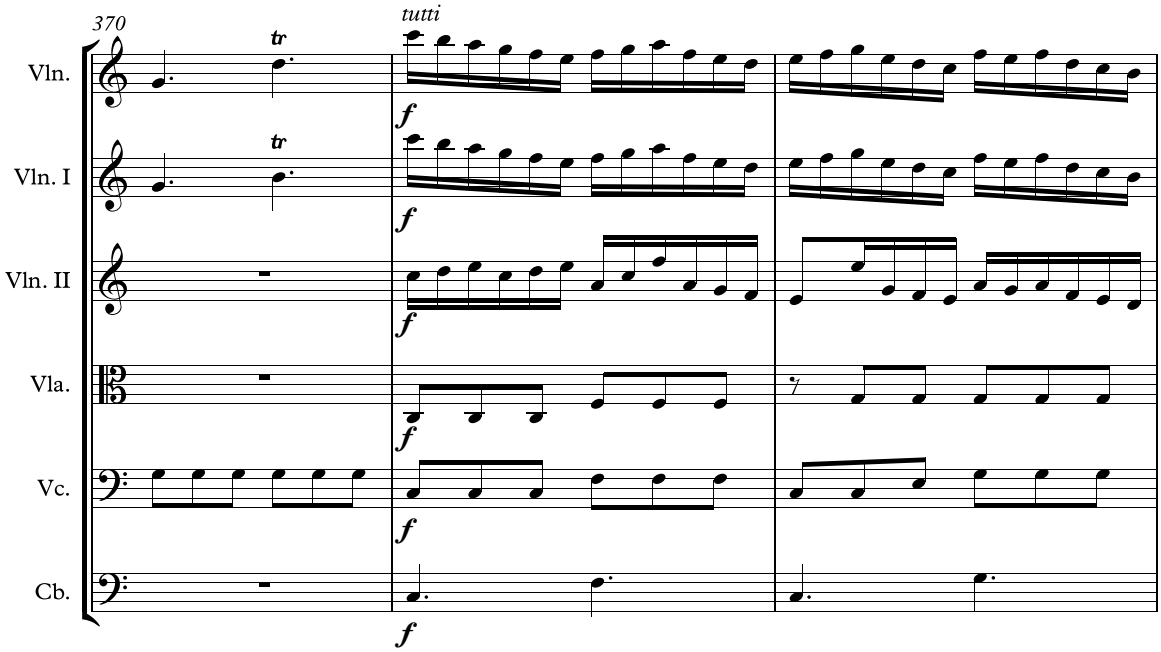

343
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

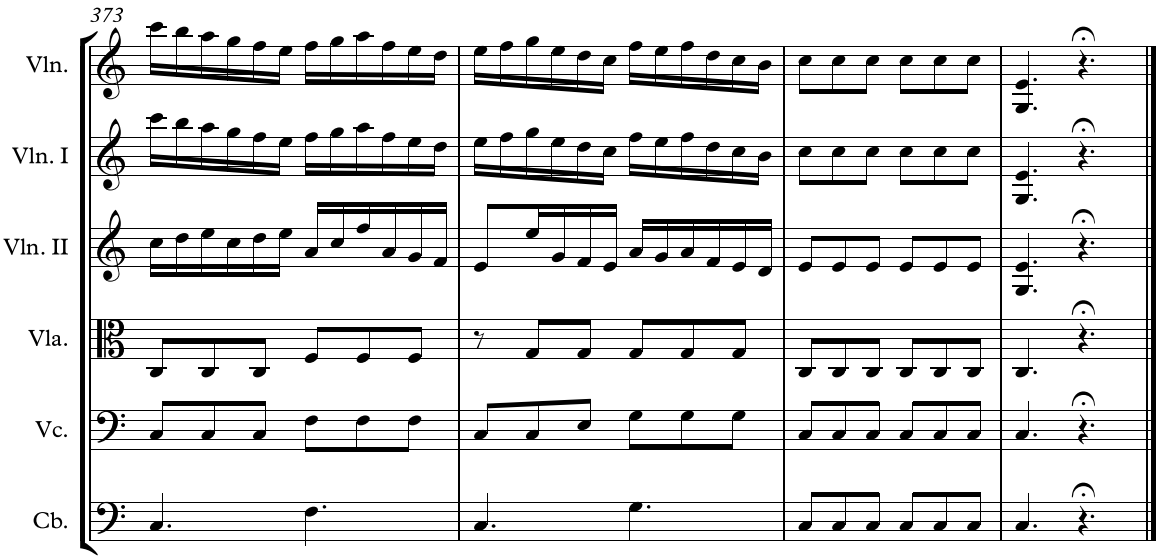

349
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
ff
p


356
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
tr
f


360
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.


366
Vln.
Vln. I
pp
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
pp
Cb.


370
tutti
tr
tr
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.
f


373
Vln.
Vln. I
Vln. II
Vla.
Vc.
Cb.

Bibliography

Anonymous, "Death of Mr. Samuel Wesley." *The Times* (12 December 1837).

Anonymous. *Euterpe; or Remarks on the Use and Abuse of Music as a Part of Modern Education.* London: J. Dodsley 1778.

Anonymous letter in *Universal Magazine,* 92 (1793).

Anonymous. "Memoir of Samuel Wesley, the Musician." In *The Wesley Banner and Revival Record, III.* (September 1851): 321-328. Quoted in John Schwartz. *The Orchestral Music of Samuel Wesley.* Vol. 1. Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1971.

Armenian Magazine 12 (1789).

Avison, Charles. *Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord.* London: J. Walsh, 1764.

Baker, Frank. *Charles Wesley, as Revealed by His Letters.* London: Epworth Press, 1948.

Best, Gary M. *Charles Wesley: a Biography.* Werrington, England: Epworth, 2006.

Barrington, Daines. *Miscellanies.* London: 1781.

David Boyden, "The Violin Bow in the Eighteenth Century." *Early Music* 8, no. 2, Keyboard Issue 2 (April 1980), 199-212.

Burney, Charles. *An Account of the Musical Performances in Commemoration of Handel.* London: 1785, v.

Burney, Charles, and Frank Mercer. *A General History of Music, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period (1789).* New York: Dover Publications, 1957.

Byrom, John. *The Universal Shorthand.* Manchester: John Hanop, 1776.

Carlton R. Young, ed. *Music of the Heart.* Carol Stream, Ill.: 1995a, xiii-xiv. Quoted in Carton R. Young. "The Music Settings of Charles Wesley's Hymns (1742 to 2008)." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Chatterton, Thomas. *The Complete Works of Thomas Chatterton.* Ed. Donald S. Taylor. Vol.1. Oxford: 1971, 446-447.

Crosse, Thomas. *Nolens Volens or You Shall Learn to Play the Violin Whether You Will or No.* London: Thomas Crosse,1695.

Drage, Sally. "Methodist Anthems." In *Music and the Wesleys,* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Ennis, Daniel J. and Slagle, Judith Bailey. *Prologues, Epilogues, Curtain-Raisers and Afterpieces. Rosemont Publishing.* Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2007.

Forsaith, Peter S. "Pictorial Precocity: John Russell's Portraits of Charles and Samuel Wesley." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Geminiani, Francesco. *The Art of Playing on the Violin.* London: 1751.

Gibran, Kahlil. "On Children," In *The Prophet* New York: Kpnof, 1923.

Gill, Frederick C. *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist.* Nashville: Abingdon, 1965.

Green, Thomas. A conversation with Samuel Wesley recalled in "Diary of Thomas Green." *Gentleman's Magazine* 9 (1838).

Holman, Peter. "Samuel Wesley as an Antiquarian Composer." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010, 183-199.

Edward Holmes, "Our Musical Spring." *Fraser's Magazine* 43 (1851), 586-595.

Hawkins, John. *A General History of The Science and Practice of Music.* London: Printed for T. Payne and Son, 1776.

Horne, Melville, ed. *Letters of the Rev. John Fletcher.* New York: Lane & Scott, 1849.

Jackson, Thomas. *The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley.* London: John Mason, 1841.

Jackson, Thomas, ed. *The Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.; to which are appended Selections from his Correspondence and Poetry.* Vol. 2. London: 1849.

Jamison, Kay Redfield. *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and the Artistic Temperament.* New York: Free Press Paperbacks published by Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Jones, William. *A Treatise on the Art of Music*. Colchester: W. Keymer, 1784.

Letter from John Wesley summarized in Michael Kassler and Philip Olleson. *Samuel Wesley (1766-1837): A Source Book.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001.

Lightwood, James. *Samuel Wesley, Musician: the Story of His Life.* London: Epworth Press, 1937.

Linley, Thomas. *The Camp: an entertainment as performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane.* London: Printed for S & A Thompson no 75 St Paul's Church Yard, circa 1779.

Linley, Thomas. *When War's Alarms, a Favorite Song ... for the Piano Forte or Flute*. London: R. Major, circa 1820.

Linley, Thomas. *When War's Alarms, a favorite ballad, arr. for German flute*. London: Printed for G. Walker, circa 1810.

Mackerness, Eric D. *A Social History of English Music.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964.

Madan, Martin. *Thelyphthora, or A Treatise on Female Ruin*. London: J. Dodsley, 1780.

McLamore, Alyson. "Harmony and Discord in the Wesley Family Concerts." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010. 164-174.

Alyson McLamore, "'By the Will and Order Providence': The Wesley Family Concerts, 1779-1787." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 37 (2004), 71-220.

McVeigh, Simon. *The Violinist in London's Concert Life, 1750-1784: Felice Giardini and His Contemporaries.* New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989.

Milligan, Thomas. *The Concerto and London's Musical Culture in the Late Eighteenth Century.* Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1983.

Newton, John A. *Susanna Wesley and the Puritan Tradition in Methodism.* London: Epworth Press, 1968.

Simon McVeigh, "The Professional Concert and Rival Subscription Series in London, 1783-1793." *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 22 (1989), 1-135.

Olleson, Philip. *Samuel Wesley: The Man and His Music.* Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2003.

Olleson, Philip. *The Letters of Samuel Wesley: Professional and Social Correspondence.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Olleson, Philip. "Samuel Wesley and the Music Profession by Philip Olleson." In *Music and British Culture*. Ed. Christina Bashford and Leanne Langley. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 23-38.

Olleson, Philip. "Father and Sons: Charles, Samuel, and Charles the Younger." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010. 175-182.

Philip Olleson, "The Obituary of Samuel Wesley." *Nineteenth-Century British Music Studies* 1 (1999), 121-133.

Philip Olleson, "The Wesleys at Home: Charles Wesley and His Children." *Methodist History* 36 (1998).

Rosen, Charles. *The Classical Style.* New York: Norton, 1997.

Routley, Erik. *The Musical Wesleys.* London: Herbert Jenkins, 1968.

Stanley Sadie, "Concert Life in Eighteenth Century England." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 85th Sess. (1958 - 1959), 17-30.

Schmitz, Oscar. *Das Land ohne Musik: englisch Gesellschaftsprobleme.* München: G. Muller, 1914.

Scholes, Percy A. *Puritans and Music in England and New England.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1934.

Scott, John. *A Fine Picture of Enthusiasm.* London: J. Noon, 1744. Quoted in Brett C. McInelly, *Textual Warfare and the Making of Methodism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Scott Shaw, "Music of The Early Methodist Church." *Reihai to Ongaku* Autumn (2004).

Stevenson, George J. *Memorials of the Wesley Family.* London: 1876.

Stubbs, Philip. *Phillip Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses in England in Shakespere's Youth.* London: Pub. For the New Shakespere society, by Trübner & co., 1877-9.

Tacet, Joseph. *New Instructions for the German Flute.* London: Printed for S. A. & P. Thompson, 1780.

Telford, John, ed. *The Letters of the Rev. John Wesley.* Vol. 4. London: Epworth Press, 1931.

Temperley, Nicholas. "John Wesley, Music, and the People Called Methodists." In *Music and the Wesleys.* Ed. Nicholas Temperley and Stephen Banfield. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Temperly, Nicholas. "Methodist Church Music." *Grove Music Online.* Ed. Deane Root. Accessed 28 January, 2018. http/www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Temperley, Nicholas et al. "London." *Grove Music Online.* Edited by Deane Root. Accessed 28 January, 2018. http/www.oxfordmusiconline.com

Temperley, Nicholas and Stephen Banfield, eds. *Music and the Wesleys.* Urbana, Chicago, Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2010.

Thayer, Alexander. *Thayer's life of Beethoven.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Tyson, John. *Charles Wesley: a Reader.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Weber, William. *Concert Life in Eighteenth-Century Britain.* Ed. Susan Wollenberg and Simon McVeigh. Berlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2004.

Weber, William. *The Rise of Musical Classics in 18th Century England.* Oxford: Clairendon Press, 1992.

Wesley, Charles. *Hymns Written in the Time of Tumults.* Bristol: June 1780.

Wesley, Charles. "Modern Music." In *The Unpublished Poetry of Charles Wesley.* Ed. Oliver Beckerlegge. Vol. 3. Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1992.

Wesley, Charles and John Langshaw. *Wesley-Langshaw Correspondence: Charles Wesley, His Sons, and the Lancaster Organists.* Ed. Arthur Wainwright, in collaboration with Don E. Saliers. Atlanta: Emory University, 1993.

Wesley, John. *A Calm Address to Our American Colonies.* London: R. Hawes, 1775.

Wesley, John. *Select Hymn.* London: 1761.

Wesley, John. *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley.* Ed. Nehemiah Curnock. Vol. 5. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1909. (8 volumes).

Wesley, Samuel. *Reminiscences*. unpublished manuscript, 1836, BL Add 27593.

Wesley, Samuel. *The Bach Letters of Samuel Wesley.* Ed. Eliza Wesley. New York: Da Capo Press, 1981.

Wesley, Samuel. "Preface.*"* Reprinted in S. S. Wesley and F. G. E., "Bach's Music in England." *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 37, (Oct. 1, 1896), 644.

Williams, Peter. "Equal Temperament and the English Organ, 1675-1825." *Acta Musicologica* 40, Fasc. 1 (Jan. - Mar., 1968), 53-65.